Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799

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* The *Calendar of Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799* is available on microfiche.

PREFACE

The National Archives of Canada has always been concerned with protecting religious, or ecclesiastical, archives. Since the late nineteenth century, this institution has been copying documents of this type in various archives across the country and even abroad. In 1977, the Archives decided to conduct, in conjunction with the Research Centre in Religious History of Canada at Saint Paul University, a systematic *Calendar of Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799*. This finding aid is the result of the first phase of the project and provides us with a description of all the items related to the history of French and English North America prior to 1800. Researchers will find it worthwhile to consult this *Calendar*, which acquaints us with many previously unknown documents.

Unfortunately, we were unable to publish the entire *Calendar* on paper. This guide, which serves as its introduction, provides a history of the Congregation, the organization of its archives, a study of projects carried out by the archivists and historians using documents conserved by this institution, and a description of the methodology used to prepare the *Calendar*. In addition, the guide provides a bibliography of publications related to the religious history of the period covered and an index to all the proper names mentioned in the *Calendar*. The *Calendar* itself is available on microfiche and must be acquired separately from this publication.

We would like to express our appreciation to those in charge of the archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," now called the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, and particularly to Father Joseph Metzler, OMI, formerly responsible for these archives and now in charge of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, for enabling us to carry out this project. We wish to sincerely thank Mr. Luca Codignola, who carefully went through the series of documents and drew up the *Calendar*. We are also grateful to Father Pierre Hurtubise, OMI, Director of the Research Centre in Religious History of Canada and Rector of Saint Paul University, and Mr. Victorin Chabot, Chief of the Canadian Society Archives Service, Manuscript Division, at the National Archives of Canada, for coordinating this project. We thank the Public Programs Branch for its assistance in producing this guide. And finally, we extend our sincere thanks to Father Ovila Gadouas, OMI, who translated the *Calendar* into French.

Jean-Pierre Wallot,
National Archivist

FOREWORD

In June 1977 I read a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Fredericton, New Brunswick. I stressed the importance of the archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" for the early history of Canada. When the session was over, its chairman, Robert S. Gordon, who was Director of the Manuscript Division of the (then) Public Archives of Canada, asked me whether I would be willing to prepare a calendar of documents of interest to the history of North America preserved in the archives of Propaganda. It was not that he was suddenly persuaded by what I had said. In fact, for a number of years the Public Archives of Canada had been looking for an opportunity to systematically investigate the Roman archives. I subsequently met with Victorin Chabot, then Chief of the French Archives Section, and on 1 October 1977 started to work on the *Calendar*.

It took seven years to complete this project. I must admit that this is somewhat longer than I had expected. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that, luckily enough, the documents of Propaganda touching upon North America in the years 1622-1799 were many more than I had foreseen. Secondly, the real work began after a document was located. Reading the documents was usually not much of a problem. What I found difficult, and certainly time-consuming, was checking the documents against all known printed sources and the available historical literature, cross-referencing it with other documents preserved in other archival series, and finding supporting data (facts, individuals and dates) that were often implied in the text but very rarely explicitly stated. During these years, curiosity led me to a number of archives in Europe and in North America where I consulted other documents, learned the origins and outcomes of some stories I had discovered in Propaganda, and came to know better some of the personalities mentioned in the documents.

What I found gratifying in this work was not only the thrill of using sources that very few people in the world had ever touched, let alone used, but also the realization that this was not "just religious history." There was much more -- so many events, stories and people. As a historian, though, this abundance created a theoretical problem. Henry James said "The historian, essentially, wants more documents than he can really use." It is all too easy to use this new documentation to shed light on a particular topic. But what if one wants to use them all in comprehensive fashion? Notwithstanding James's epigram, I have tried to introduce readers to the documents that I have calendared not only by giving them "technical" information about Propaganda, its archives and its history, but also by including an interpretive guide dealing with the various aspects of the relationship between the Holy See and North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a rather difficult task to acknowledge the help received from all the friends, colleagues, scholars and institutions who supported me throughout the production of the *Calendar*. For their continuous support during these several years, I wish to thank first of all my friends and teachers William J. Eccles (University of Toronto), Raimondo Luraghi (Università di Genova), Tiziano Bonazzi (Università di Bologna), Piero Del Negro (Università di Padova), Cornelius J. Jaenen (University of Ottawa), Pierre Savard (Université d'Ottawa) and Giorgio Spini (Università di Firenze).

It was thanks to the joint effort of the National Archives of Canada and Saint Paul University (Ottawa) that this project was initiated. Having these friends and colleagues in Ottawa lent a sense of teamwork to the project. In particular I wish to thank Robert S. Gordon and Victorin Chabot of the National Archives of Canada, and Pierre Hurtubise of Saint Paul University. Ovila Gadouas translated the preliminary version into French, as it appeared in microfiche in October 1983. He was much more than a simple translator. We discussed and examined each entry together, and he was able to make several improvements. His untimely death on 17 July 1984 prevented him from seeing this project through to its completion.

Josef Metzler was recently appointed Archivist of the Vatican Secret Archives. While I was preparing the *Calendar*, however, he was the archivist of Propaganda. His knowledge of the archives and of the history of the Congregation proved invaluable. I also wish to thank Sister Maria Margherita Villaluz, who was an employee at the archives of Propaganda during my period of research there. While I was preparing the *Calendar*, Anton Debevec was pursuing a similar task for the Academy of American Franciscan History, and had been working at the archives of Propaganda since 1955. Many times I asked for his assistance, and his experience always helped me greatly.

In recent years, I was greatly supported by a working team that gathered in the Roman offices of the Canadian Academic Centre in Italy (CACI). Pierre Hurtubise and I, together with the two subsequent Directors of CACI, Amilcare Iannucci (University of Toronto) and Roberto Perin (York University), launched a new project whose aim was to calendar documents of North American interest in the other Roman archives and libraries. Monique Benoît and Gabriele P. Scardellato came to Rome from Canada in September 1982, and until July 1984 calendared various series preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives. The project was financially assisted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We spent many hours discussing the difficulties and problems we were encountering.

A number of Italian colleagues, archivists and historians were very helpful on various occasions. I would like to mention in particular Isidoro Agudo (Archivio Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini), Franco Angiolini (Università di Pisa), Stefano Arnaldo Baiocchi (Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Farfa), Georges Bottereau (formerly with the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Hugh Fenning (Collegio San Clemente), Antonio Frotes (Archivio Generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi), Alessandro Galuzzi (Pontificia Università Lateranense), Bernard Jacqueline (Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli), Elio Lodolini (Archivio di Stato di Roma), Francesca Loverci (Università di Roma), Lajos Pàsztor (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), Salvatore Rotta (Università di Genova), Alessandra Surdi (Centro Italiano di Studi Americani), Leo van Wijmen (Collegio Internazionale S. Alberto), Anita Weston Bilardello (formerly with the Università di Roma), and Felix Zubillaga (Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù).

Over the years, in connection with the *Calendar*, I met and corresponded with a number of foreign scholars, and visited many libraries and archives outside Italy. I wish to acknowledge the help I received in Canada from Selma Barkham (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Cyril Byrne (Saint Mary's University), Jean Fournier (Archives de l'Ordre Hospitalier de Saint Jean-de-Dieu), Armand

Gagné (Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec), Bruno Harel (Archives des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice), Jan Kupp, Raymond J. Lahey (formerly with Memorial University of Newfoundland), Terrence Murphy (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Honorius Provost (former archivist at the Archives du Séminaire de Québec). In the United States, I wish to thank John D. Krugler (Marquette University) and John J. McCusker (University of Maryland), and in England, Joseph A. Callanan (Southwark Curia Diocesan Archives), Howell Daniels (Institute of United States Studies), Francis Edwards (formerly with the Department of Historiography and Archives, English Province of the Society of Jesus), Elisabeth R. Poyser (Westminster Diocesan Archives), David Beers Quinn (formerly with the University of Liverpool), Sarah Tyacke (The Map Library, The British Library), and Esmond Wright (formerly with the University of London). In France, I wish to acknowledge the help received from Gabriel Debien, Claude Fohlen (Université de Paris I), Florence), Jean Guennou (Archives du Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères), and Joseph Lehuenen (former mayor of Saint-Pierre, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon). I also wish to thank Antonio Brasio (Provincia Portuguesa da Congregaçâo do Espirito Santo), and J.H. van den Hoek Ostende (Gemeentelijke Archiefdeinst van Amsterdam).

Lastly, sincere thanks goes to my wife, Gabriella Ferruggia Codignola, and to my daughter, Federica. An American historian has dedicated one of his books to his wife, "sine qua non, sed non typista." In a work in which Latin has been one of the most recurring features, I cannot think of a better dedication. As to my daughter Federica, she was born two months after I started to work in the archives of Propaganda. She is now ten, and still believes that all fathers must spend most of their time going to archives and pounding a typewriter. I hope she will soon know better.

* * * * *

Portions of the *Guide* have already appeared in a number of articles. They have all been largely revised and updated. Chapter One appeared as "Rome and North America 1622-1799. The Interpretive Framework," in *Storia nordamericana*, I, 1 (1984), pp. 5-33. Chapter Four was published in two separate parts, as "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide,' 1622-1799. Guides et inventaires," in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XIII, 2 (September 1979), pp. 197-214; and as "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation de Propaganda Fide,' 1622-1799. Études," in *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française*, 21 (December 1980), pp. 1-21. Chapter Five appeared as "Roman Sources of Canadian Religious History to 1799" in The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* (1983), pp. 73-88. The latter owes much to a preliminary survey of Roman repositories conducted in 1981 by Francesca Loverci in co-operation with this writer. The survey was sponsored by the Istituto Culturale Canadese of Rome, and was never published.

A preliminary edition of the *Calendar* appeared in microfiche in October 1983. It was published jointly by the (then) Public Archives of Canada and Saint Paul University. The numerical sequence of the preliminary edition is different from this final edition. In the preliminary microfiche edition, vol. II was Acta, vol. III was SOCG, vol. IV was Congregazioni Particolari, vol. V was Lettere and vol. VI was Congressi. In the final edition, the volume entirely devoted to Congregazioni Particolari is merged with a larger volume, entitled Varia. With the appearance of the final edition of the *Calendar* (always in microfiche), the preliminary edition should be disregarded.

Rome, 1 March 1988

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abp.	archbishop (pl. abps.)
ACS	autograph copy, signed
Acta	APF, Acta series
ADf	autograph draft, unsigned
ADfS	autograph draft, signed
AL	autograph letter, unsigned
alias	otherwise called
ALS	autograph letter, signed
AM	autograph memorandum
ap.	apostolic
APF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
B	blank (pl. Bs)
b.	born
bp.	bishop (pl. bps.)
Brevi e bolle	APF, Brevi e bolle series
C	contemporary manuscript copy in another hand, unsigned
C	APF, Congressi series
C, AA	APF, America Antille sub-series
C, AC	APF, America Centrale sub-series
C, AM	APF, America Meridionale sub-series
C, Anglia	APF, Anglia sub-series
C, Anglia, Miscellanee	APF, Anglia, Miscellanee sub-series
C, AS	APF, America Settentrionale sub-series
C, Cardinali	APF, *C*, Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori sub-series
C, Francia	APF, *C*, Francia sub-series
C, Irlanda	APF, *C*, Irlanda sub-series
C, Missioni	APF, *C*, Missioni sub-series
C, Missioni, Miscellanee	APF, *C*, Missioni, Miscellanee sub-series
c.	about
cdl.	cardinal (pl. cdls.)
CG	General Congregation (Congregazione Generale)
CG/6	General Congregation unnumbered, item no. 6
CG 33/18	General Congregation no. 33, item no. 18
CM	Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists)
congr.	congregation
CP	APF, Congregazioni Particolari series
CP	Special Congregation (Congregazione Particolare)
CP/2	Special Congregation, item no.2
CS	contemporary manuscript copy in another hand, signed
CSSp	Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Spiritains)
D	official manuscript document, unsigned
Decreti	APF, Decreti series
DS	official manuscript document, signed
f.	folio (pl. ff.)
fl.	floruit
FV	APF, Fondo Vienna series
FV, C	APF, FV, Congressi sub-series
FV, Decreti	APF, FV, Decreti sub-series

FV, Dubia et resolutiones	APF, FV, Dubia et resolutiones sub-series
FV, Registro dei brevi	APF, FV, Registro dei brevi sub-series
FV, SOCG	APF, FV, SOCG sub-series
FV, Varia	APF, FV, Varia sub-series
i.e.	that is
Informazioni	APF, Informazioni series
Istruzioni	APF, Istruzioni series
Lettere	APF, Lettere series
LS	letter in another hand, signed
M	memorandum
Mgr	monsignor
Miscellanee diverse	APF, Miscellanee diverse series
Miscellanee generali	APF, Miscellanee generali series
Miscellanee varie	APF, Miscellanee varie series
MN	marginal note (pl. MNs)
MS	memorandum, signed
ms	manuscript (pl. mss)
N	nuncio
no.	number
NS	New Style
OCarm	Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Carmelites)
OCD	Order of the Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Discalced Carmelites)
OCist	Order of Citeaux
OCSO	Order of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists)
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM Cap	Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)
OFM Rec	Order of Friars Minor Recollet (Recollets)
OH	Hospitaller Order of St. John of God
OM	Order of the Minims (Minims)
OP	Order of Friars Preacher (Dominicans)
OS	Old Style
OSA	Order of St. Augustine (Augustinians)
OSB	Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
PF	Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
pl.	plural
PM	printed matter
PS	post scriptum
PSS	Society of Priests of St. Sulpice (Sulpicians)
R	rescriptum (decision made)
r	recto
re	with reference to
recte	correctly
Rel.	relator
RHSJ	Religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph
S	summary
Sep.	September
ser.	series
sic	thus

SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SME	Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères, Paris
SOCG	APF, Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali series
TOR	Third Order Regular of St. Francis
Udienze	APF, Udienze series
v	verso
Varia	*Calendar*, vol. IV: Varia and Addenda
VHM	Visitation Nuns (Visitandines)
vic.	vicar (pl. vics.)
vol.	volume (pl. vols.)
[ ]	editor's interpretation or remark
?	doubtful interpretation or item

I. ROME AND NORTH AMERICA, 1622-1799: THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

1. A NEWFOUNDLAND EXAMPLE

On 14 January 1784, James Keating, Patrick Gaul, John Commins and Lewis Maddock wrote a letter from Waterford, Ireland, to James Talbot, bishop of Birtha and vicar apostolic in the London district. On behalf of the Newfoundland Catholic community, they informed the bishop that the Catholics of the island meant to invite a Recollet priest from Waterford, a certain James Louis O'Donel, to join them in St. John's. Since the Governor of the island, John Campbell, had recently consented to the erection of a Catholic chapel, they needed a priest. The priest had to come from the Waterford area, the region of origin of most Newfoundland Catholics, and had to be fluent in English and Gaelic, since most of the inhabitants spoke only Gaelic. The letter also mentioned that two or three "unhappy priests, who are a disgrace to themselves, to us and to our Holy Religion," were already preaching on the island. They had, however, no proper licenses, and should be replaced by O'Donel.

Keating, Gaul, Commins and Maddock had not addressed their letter directly to Talbot, but sent it instead to William Egan, bishop of Waterford and the former bishop of many Newfoundland Catholics. Egan, in turn, had forwarded their petition, together with his opinion of O'Donel and a letter from O'Donel himself addressed to Talbot, to John Thomas Troy, bishop of Ossory. Troy read the dossier, kept the originals, had copies of the documents prepared, certified them and sent the packet to Talbot in London. Talbot, for his part, did not feel confident about a decision on the matter. The Newfoundland Catholics had taken for granted their position under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic of London, but what if the bishop of Quebec, Louis-Philippe Mariauchau d'Esgly, should oppose their proceedings on the grounds that it was he who was responsible for their spiritual needs? Talbot reassembled Troy's packet and sent it to his immediate superiors, the officials of Propaganda in Rome.[1]

On 17 May 1784 the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" held one of their regular meetings (Congregazioni Generali) in their palace overlooking the Spanish Steps in Rome. The secretary of Propaganda, Stefano Borgia (the secretary was Propaganda's most important official after the prefect), reported on the Newfoundland Catholics' petition. The cardinals agreed to appoint O'Donel superior of the mission in Newfoundland and to ask the Pope for the concession of the customary faculties (spiritual powers) usually granted to the prefects of missions. Pope Pius VI gave his approval on 30 May. A week later, on 5 June, Propaganda wrote to Egan announcing O'Donel's appointment, and enclosed a letter for O'Donel that the bishop of Waterford was requested to forward. On the same day, a third letter was sent to Talbot, stating that his own jurisdiction over Newfoundland was discontinued due to O'Donel's appointment.[2]

Thus, in less than a year, the petition of four Irish citizens written on behalf of their Newfoundland co-religionists had found its way to Rome, where a decision was made to the satisfaction of the petitioners and their community. In its roundabout journey, the petition had passed through many hands -- Egan, Troy, Talbot, Borgia. As citizens of the British empire, Newfoundlanders were certainly aware that distance from the centres of power did not make communication any easier. As Catholics, they were certainly not fully aware of all the subtle jurisdictional problems inherent in their request. Even their Irish and English superiors did not know exactly how to handle their petition, which was, in fact, a simple request for a proper priest. That is why the dossier ended up in the Roman offices of Propaganda, where nobody doubted the full power of the Congregation to deal with mission territories. Ironically, O'Donel's appointment probably took only a few minutes of the Propaganda officials' precious time, yet it was deemed necessary in order to comply with the request that had come all the way from Newfoundland. Surprisingly, no substantial changes were made to the petition on its way to Rome. In fact, the Newfoundland Catholics soon welcomed O'Donel to their island -- the very priest and person for whom they had asked.

This small incident is a good example of the relationship that existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the Catholics of North America and the Holy See. It is an extreme example only in the sense that the whole hierarchical ladder is represented and that all steps were duly recorded. (In most cases, there was a more direct way of reaching Rome, or it may only seem so because not all documents are extant.) This chapter will examine the general framework of the relationship between Rome and North America, the way the Holy See shaped its North American policy and whether this changed over time. It will also briefly discuss whether it is possible to determine the impact of the Holy See upon the history of North America.

2. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

When, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, France and England decided to add the New World to their maps, they found that Spain had left unoccupied most of what is now Canada and the United States, and was in no position to continue its previous massive colonial effort. They began the acquisition of their American empire at random. Port-Royal was established in 1605, Jamestown in 1607, Quebec in 1608, and Cuper's Cove, Newfoundland, in 1610. Bermuda was first settled in 1612, and the Pilgrim Fathers landed in Plymouth in 1620. At first, profit was the only measure of a colony's success and therefore plans were continually made and unmade, both by individual entrepreneurs and by governments, according to the immediate income from the colonies. Some fifty years passed before France decided that its colonies had grown too important to be left in the hands of a number of semi-private commercial companies and before it tried to centralize the colonies' administration. Jean-Baptiste Colbert attached the colonies to the Ministry of the Marine. Difficulties arose from overlapping responsibilities, and it was found that commis were not always experts in colonial affairs. The rivalry between the French colonial governor and the intendant was theoretically resolved by the central figure of the King. In most cases, however, this rivalry was fostered by the King himself, who wanted to limit the powers of his two officials. As for England, it never had a central agency that controlled the development of the thirteen continental colonies or any of its West Indian possessions, let alone a plan for their establishment. The Board of Trade, created in 1669, had only advisory powers. Any final decision rested with the Privy Council, whose members dealt with the whole range of government decisions.[3]

During the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal had occupied most of Central and South America. Since both were Catholic countries, Catholicism had played a vital role in the early conquest of America. Catholicism in fact had been the ideology of the Conquest. Paradoxically, Rome had almost no part in it. By virtue of the so-called royal patronage, the Pope had delegated all spiritual powers over Spanish and Portuguese possessions around the world to their respective kings. The religious orders, which operated in Central and South America, and which played such an important role in the conquest of the New World, because of royal patronage were responsible to their Iberian kings, not to Rome. The Pope had in fact confined himself, in the early stages, to drawing a line separating and establishing in perpetuity Spanish and Portuguese America.[4]

Although some suggested, in the 1640s, that the Pope, like any other prince in Europe, should have his own colonies,[5] the Holy See, unlike France and England, had no colonies. From 1622 on, however, it did have a central agency to deal with these "Catholic" colonies, or, more precisely, to profit from other countries' efforts to build and maintain colonial empires. In 1622 the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was established to spread the true faith among the infidels, to protect it where Catholics lived side by side with non-Catholics, and ultimately to achieve union with the Protestant and Orthodox churches. The new Congregation was meant to pursue these goals by coordinating all missionary activities and centralizing information on foreign lands. For its part, the Holy See had thousands of potential Catholic settlers, an army of missionaries, a refined diplomatic body, a knowledgeable bureaucracy and a recognized (though declining) international status. Besides, unlike their colleagues in France and England, Holy See officials felt an institutional urge for conversion and expansion that made them international in their outlook and in their attitude toward the new worlds.[6]

As far as North America was concerned, the timing of the establishment of Propaganda was perfect, since European settlement had only just begun. To be sure, America did not have top priority on the Congregation's agenda. When its cardinals met for the first time on 8 March 1622 to share among themselves jurisdictional responsibility for various parts of the world, only Brazil and the West Indies were mentioned in the division, both as appendages of their mother lands, Portugal and Spain.[7] While Spanish and Portuguese America were certainly better known to Europeans in general than French and English North America, there is no doubt that, for Propaganda officials, both North and South America were regarded as places of far lesser importance than, for example, Germany, Illyria, Albania, the East Indies or the Slav countries. This attitude continued for nearly two more centuries. A glance at the papers preserved in the archives of Propaganda shows the enormous disparity between its dealings with North America and those with other parts of the world. The series Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (hereafter SOCG), which contains all "important" incoming documents, has (for the period 1622-1668) only two volumes relating to North America out of a total of 417 volumes, as compared with 39 volumes for Germany; 34 for Illyria; 29 each for Albania, the East Indies and France; 27 for Poland; and 25 for Switzerland.[8]

For their part, Holy See officials who did not belong to Propaganda were even less interested in North American facts. Events in those remote lands were unlikely to affect the European balance of power or the network of European diplomacy. Even when Pius VI decided to send his nuncio in France, Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, archbishop of Seleucia, to attend unofficially the preliminaries of the Treaty of Paris, which was to settle the War of American Independence, his instructions made it clear that "Il trattato che va a conchiudersi tra le potenze belligeranti di Europa non è certamente di quella importanza, né ha quei rapporti della Sede Apostolica ch'esigga una spedizione di un Allegato." Nevertheless, the nuncio was told, "essendosi già stabilita l'indipendenza delle Provincie Unite dell'America dall'Inghilterra, [...] sembra necessario che Nostro Signore [the Pope] prenda qualche pensiere e sollecitudine per l'esercizio e conservazione della religione cattolica in quegli stati."[9] [See Appendix A for translation]. These words were not written in the 1620s -- when North America consisted of only a few scattered settlements -- but on 15 January 1783, when North America was, for the second time in two decades, changing its rulers and had just accomplished a successful revolution.

This lack of interest in North America was not due to a parochial attitude on the part of the Holy See. The courts of St. James's and Versailles were no better. Canadian and American settlers alike constantly complained about their mother countries' insufficient support. There were never enough provisions, money or soldiers. Bureaucrats and military officers posted abroad always regarded it an unpleasant, though somewhat rewarding and often necessary, purgatory.[10] Wars were won or lost in Europe, not in America, and the practical results of a victory or defeat in the colonies were most likely to be reversed when the (European) treaty was eventually signed (in Europe).[11]

Now and then, some French king or minister developed a genuine interest in the welfare of the French colonies or simply in their economic viability.[12] Even though it was through this kind of interest that New France grew to be the ruler of North America, there were always more pressing matters that came first, and the lack of military support from Versailles eventually led to the French (and Canadian) defeat in the crucial Seven Years' War.[13] In England too, someone occasionally advocated a scheme for a more perfect union with the colonies, but only after the Seven Years War was their importance clearly recognized, albeit too late.[14] London's real concern was to control their unruly character and indiscriminate growth, since the thirteen continental colonies had almost 1.2 million inhabitants by the 1750s, and only the common fear of their Canadian neighbours had enabled England to keep a firm grip over its overseas territories.[15]

Since the Holy See generally lacked interest in North America, Propaganda planned and implemented the gamut of North American policies. Everyone in Rome seemed to be aware that North America was Propaganda's responsibility, and duly forwarded every matter pertaining to the New World to its officials. Most of Propaganda's decisions did not require anyone's approval. Indeed, a number were made in the presence of the Pope ("coram Sanctissimo") or submitted to the Pope by the Congregation's secretary at regular meetings called "Udienze." But the Pope always sanctioned these decisions and never tried to influence them. On certain matters, Propaganda could not decide alone and turned to other congregations, usually the Sacred Congregation of the Rites or the Holy Office. Here again, Propaganda's decisions were never reversed. Conversely, Propaganda received a number of letters, petitions and requests whose writers had wrongly addressed the Pope. The latter merely forwarded them via the secretary of state to Propaganda, which managed to avoid jealous rivalries by taking over these matters. The Congregation intervened so well that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is only one example of a dispute between it and another Roman department with regard to North America. It took place in 1661, when the vicar apostolic of Canada, François de Laval, bishop of Petraea, and the archbishop of Rouen, François de Harlay de Champvallon, were fighting over the creation of a full bishopric in Quebec. Champvallon maintained that Canada was and had always been under his jurisdiction, and tried to establish his own hierarchy in Canada through the Sulpicians of Montreal. One of these, Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus, had personally gone to Rome and, bypassing Propaganda, had requested the creation of a parish in Montreal, claiming that it was under the jurisdiction of Rouen. Since the Dataria Apostolica had taken for granted Montreal's location in France, Queylus having carefully avoided mentioning the truth, it complied with Queylus's request. When Mario Alberizzi, secretary of Propaganda, realized what had happened, he became furious and put pressure on his puzzled colleagues at the Dataria, thus causing the concession to be revoked.[16] It may well be said, then, that as far as North America was concerned, Propaganda alone spoke for the Holy See, whereas other Roman agencies and even the Pope himself had only occasional communications with the New World. (The relationship between Propaganda and the regular orders was, however, far more complex, as we shall see later.)

Thus the Holy See's policy toward North America was Propaganda's policy, which in turn was shaped over the years by a handful of Roman officials who dealt with North America as part of their duties covering the entire world. Their own knowledge of American matters was fundamental to every decision Propaganda officials took with regard to the New World. Yet none of them had ever been to North America, none spoke English and very few spoke French: Italian and Latin were often the only languages they could understand. Under Benedict XIV (1740-1758), for example, only one person in the Vatican understood German. (Most incoming letters written in a language other than Italian or Latin were read in translation -- usually prepared by the foreign clergy's special agents who resided in Rome -- and on at least one occasion diplomatic difficulties were caused by a bad translation).[17] Besides, North America was not the object of gossip or public writing, nor could Propaganda officials hope to gain additional information through social occasions or similar gatherings. Unlike bureaucrats in France and England, they seem not to have been aware of the copious literature relating to the New World that was published in Italy alone, not to mention the rest of Europe.[18] The only explicit reference to published sources that is to be found in the documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda is to Louis Moreri's *Grand dictionnaire historique* and to the Jesuit *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, both used to describe the geography of Canada. The reference, however, is in a report written by Pierre-Herman Dosquet, bishop of Samos and coadjutor of the bishop of Quebec, not by an official of the Congregation.[19]

Strange as it may seem, there is not a single reference to Francesco Giuseppe Bressani's *Breve relatione*, although the book was published in Macerata in 1653.[20] Two general reports on the state of missions belonging to Propaganda were attempted, one in 1678 by the secretary of the Congregation, Urbano Cerri, the other in 1709 by a future secretary of Propaganda, Niccolò Forteguerri. Cerri's report, found in a number of manuscript versions, was eventually published in 1716, and is the more famous of the two. The portion dealing with North America, however, is a very poor collation of names and events exclusively gathered from documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda.[21] As to Forteguerri's *Memorie intorno alle missioni*, its contents show that he had a poorer knowledge of Propaganda archives than Cerri (he was not yet secretary of the Congregation when he wrote his report). On the other hand, his description of the New World shows familiarity with some printed sources, though these were never acknowledged. At any rate, the portion of the *Memorie* devoted to North America shows little awareness of the actual state of the French and British continental colonies.[22] If Roman bureaucrats ever talked or read about North America, this is nowhere evident in what they did or wrote.

Propaganda officials were, however, thorough and devoted bureaucrats, and did their work well while in office. They always seemed to be aware of past events, and usually documents buried in their archives were easily located when the need arose. In one notable instance this did not happen. In 1756, Richard Challoner, bishop of Debra and Coadjutor of the vicar apostolic in the London district, Benjamin Petre, wrote a long and detailed report on the state of the British colonies of America. He pointed out that, even though the vicars apostolic of London had always taken for granted their jurisdiction over them, he had no official document proving the origin of that jurisdiction. The Secretary of Propaganda, Nicola Lercari, had the archives searched for any pertinent documentation, but had to admit before the cardinals of his Congregation that:

> Essendosi fatte le dovute diligenze in questo archivio, non si è trovato alcun documento che sia mai stata appoggiata agl'arcipreti d'Inghilterra [...] né posteriormente alli vicari apostolici [...] la cura di spedire missionari nelle isole o terraferma dell'America soggetta agl'inglesi o di avere soprintendenza sopra di essi o delle missioni

and that he had "mai veduto nessun breve o decreto che cosi regolasse questo affare." [See Appendix A for translation] The problem was quickly solved by granting the vicar apostolic immediate jurisdiction over all British possessions in America.[23] Lercari's search into the archives had been thorough indeed. Neither in Propaganda nor in the London archives[24] is there any trace of the vicar apostolic's jurisdiction over America. Challoner's case was an exception, and in most instances previous documents were indeed found and put to good use. If little was lost, then, little was gained. While some among Propaganda officials were more able or more inquisitive than others, their knowledge of North America was the sum of what past officials had known, plus the information acquired while in office.

3. THE STRUCTURES OF THE NEW WORLD

After Propaganda's establishment in 1622, every Catholic in North America was spiritually dependent on the new Congregation. He or she would communicate with it through the local clergy via the established hierarchies. In the early days of colonization, missionaries went to North America on their own initiative, sometimes with the consent of their ordinary (local) superior. In 1668 Pierre de Neufville, a secular priest from the diocese of Coutances, wrote to Propaganda reporting on the wrongdoings of French, Spanish, Basque and Italian fishermen working along the shores of Newfoundland. To make the most of their stay, these men worked on Sundays arranging their catch. Evidently, Neufville was not aware that in order to perform his duties he needed special faculties that could only be granted by Propaganda, for he had been going to Newfoundland every summer for the past four years with the consent of his French ordinary, the bishop of Saint-Malo, François de Ville-Montée.[25] Propaganda took every opportunity to make it clear that whoever wanted to become an apostolic missionary and operate in mission territories had to ask the Congregation for special faculties. These varied according to the needs and the position of the petitioners, and had to be renewed periodically in order to maintain a closer relationship between Propaganda officials and their subordinates around the world.[26]

Missions had to be formalized as soon as possible. In the early stages of missionary activities, a prefect apostolic was appointed. He was responsible to Propaganda and could partially communicate his faculties to his missionaries. Missions might be small, but the organizational structure was to be applied to all of them. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a small mission such as Saint-Pierre and Miquelon consisted of a prefect apostolic (in Saint-Pierre) and a single missionary (in Miquelon).[27] Propaganda always corresponded with individual missionaries operating in the New World, although it was cautious never to bypass the appointed superiors in the colonies. Those who wrote to Propaganda were unsophisticated priests who simply did not know whether the land in which they found themselves was dependent on any superior, missionaries so far from established hierarchies that they found it easier to correspond with Rome than with Quebec or Baltimore, rebel priests at war with their superiors, idealists envisaging grand schemes for the conversion of the American savages, or simply European priests who longed to be exposed to the vineyards of the New World.[28]

In the mid-seventeenth century, Canada became important enough to require a more efficient hierarchic structure. Until then, for most practical purposes, the Jesuits had run the church in the colony. (As we shall see, Propaganda had almost no power over them). In 1658 Laval was appointed vicar apostolic in Canada. A vicar apostolic was, in fact, a bishop abroad (in partibus infidelium). He had the spiritual powers of a bishop, but depended on Propaganda. As soon as European diplomacy allowed it, Laval was appointed full bishop of Quebec.[29] Propaganda corresponded directly with Laval and his successors. Laval, in particular, sent yearly reports on the state of religion in his diocese. Later, Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand (the first bishop after the English Conquest of 1760) appointed a vicar general in Paris, who acted as his liaison with Rome and Propaganda. The three successive vicars general in Paris (Pierre de La Rue, better known as Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, appointed before the Conquest, 1734-1777; François Sorbier de Villars, 1777-1788; and Martin Hody, 1789-1792) forwarded and often filtered an enormous amount of correspondence coming from North America. De La Rue was often assisted by Joseph-Marie de La Corne de Chaptes, dean of the Chapter of Quebec (1762-1779). When the French Revolution disrupted the customary networks, the correspondence between Canada and Rome went via Lisbon -- where the Quebec merchant Francis Morrogh acted as a practical contact -- or was entrusted to priests travelling from Rome to England via Venice and Germany. Of course, after the Conquest, Canada became an English possession, and a number of matters were dealt with in London rather than in Paris. Thomas Hussey was then appointed vicar general of the bishop of Quebec in London (1784-1788). Like his French colleagues, Hussey too had a voluminous correspondence with Propaganda.[30]

After the American War of Independence, Propaganda tried to organize the American clergy according to the system that had been applied to Canada. (Before the American Revolution, there were only Jesuits in the British continental colonies, and the vicar apostolic in the London district enjoyed token jurisdiction over them.) At first, a proposal was put forward to establish a vicar apostolic in Baltimore or Philadelphia. When Benjamin Franklin unexpectedly made it clear that the American Congress actually preferred an American bishop to a foreign vicar apostolic, John Carroll was first appointed prefect apostolic of the missions in the United Provinces of America (1784), and then full bishop of Baltimore (1789), thus becoming the second Catholic bishop in Anglo-America. Like his colleague in Quebec, Carroll corresponded directly with Propaganda, but often used Hussey in London to keep up correspondence with Rome.[31]

Prior to the bishop of Quebec's appointment of a vicar general in Paris, most matters pertaining to Canada passed through the hands of the nuncio in France. The nuncio did not depend on Propaganda, but was responsible to the Pope through the Secretary of State. For all practical purposes, he was the Holy See's ambassador to the French court. Propaganda used the nuncio in France to approach the higher echelons of the French government or of the French clergy, and sometimes asked him to supervise prospective missionaries.[32] Propaganda had a similar relationship with the nuncio in Flanders. Since Great Britain was not a Catholic country, the Pope could not and would not maintain a nuncio there. Thus the nuncio in Brussels, because of his geographical location, was also made responsible for England. Although he was likely to be less informed on American matters than his colleague in Paris, he was, for example, the one that forwarded to Propaganda early information on the Maryland mission in the seventeenth century.[33]

If Propaganda enjoyed an easy and smooth relationship with the secular clergy in North America and with their appointed superiors, some problems arose in its dealings with the regular clergy. Theoretically, Propaganda had jurisdiction over seculars and regulars alike, and both had to refer to it for faculties necessary to operate in mission territories. In practice, the situation was not so simple. The very first mission that Propaganda planned in the New World was in fact blocked by the opposition of the superiors of a powerful order, the Discalced Carmelites. In 1625 the Discalced Carmelite Simon Stock, a friend of George Calvert's, Baron Baltimore, disclosed to the officials of the newly founded Congregation the possibility of opening the first Catholic mission of Anglo-America in Newfoundland, where Baltimore was trying to establish the colony of Avalon. Propaganda officials encouraged his endeavours in writing, but then, faced with the opposition of Stock's confrères, decided not to pursue the matter further. Propaganda made it clear that "questa Sacra Congregatione ha per costume di non violentar li superiori delle religioni, trovando che coll'andar contro la loro volontà si difficoltano sempre grandemente li negotii." [See Appendix A for translation]. In fact, Propaganda was balancing Stock's visionary project against the Order's powerful Middle East missions, and decided that it could not afford the Order's hostility in the very first years of its existence.[34] On their part, Discalced Carmelites were positively jealous of the new Congregation, and tried to share with it as little as possible of their knowledge of North America.[35] Later, when the Discalced Carmelites became involved in Louisiana, they seemed to cooperate with Propaganda.[36]

Even more difficult, particularly in the early days, was Propaganda's relationship with the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits felt themselves to be in competition with Propaganda from the Congregation's inception. In 1625 Propaganda wrote to the Jesuit General, Muzio Vitelleschi, enquiring about the possibility of founding some missions in the New World. Vitelleschi quickly answered that his Order had already sent three of its members to North America eleven years before (Pierre Biard, Enemond Massé and Jacques Quentin, accompanied by the lay brother Gilbert du Thet), while that year three Jesuits (Charles Lalemant, Massé and Jean de Brébeuf) and two lay brothers (Gilbert Burel and François Charton) had been sent to "Canada confinante con la Nuova Francia."[37] [See Appendix A for translation.] The history of the Jesuit missions among the Huron nation and their tragic and abrupt end in the late 1640s is too well known to be recounted here. Although the Society of Jesus from time to time sent catalogues of its missionaries to Propaganda, what should be noted is the de facto independence of the North American Jesuits from the Congregation, an independence that lasted until the creation of the bishopric of Quebec in 1674. The Jesuits insisted on the same privileges in North America that were accorded them in the East Indies. Naturally enough, Propaganda maintained that faculties were granted to all missionaries on an equal basis, and that the Jesuits were not a special case.[38] The result of this dispute was an almost total lack of co-operation between the Society and Propaganda, aggravated by the fact that almost all Jesuit missionaries were French and dealt with France. This hostility was eventually dissolved by the appointment of Laval as vicar apostolic, since he always enjoyed a good relationship with them.[39] At the end of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were suppressed and disbanded, they remained in Canada as secular missionaries dependent on Bishop Briand of Quebec, who was instructed to execute the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, dissolving the Society "pacate ac tranquille."[40] [See Appendix A for translation.] As to the British colonies of America, after receiving some information on Maryland in the seventeenth century, Propaganda completely lost track of them. The Jesuits became the only missionaries there, and received their faculties directly from their English provincials.[41] When the bishopric of Baltimore was created in 1789, the secular clergy of the United States consisted almost exclusively of former Jesuits, Carroll included, so that they were accused of being a powerful and exclusive clique.[42] By that time, though, Propaganda had delegated the administration of the former British colonies to the bishop of Baltimore, and competition with the formerly powerful Society had long been forgotten.

Propaganda's relationship with other orders operating in North America was simpler and never posed any problems. Capuchins, who had been active in Acadia in the early days of European settlement and were later entrusted with missions in the Louisiana area, enjoyed a long and well established relationship with Propaganda.[43] The Recollets were in a similar position. In fact, when Propaganda first mentioned the need for a bishopric in Canada, the choice fell to a Recollet candidate.[44] The Sulpicians had no relationship with Propaganda but only with Paris, and, except for the controversy between Champvallon and Laval mentioned above, they also did not present any problems for the Congregation.[45] The Spiritains, who were sent to Canada and to Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in the late eighteenth century, were sent and administered by their Paris superiors. These often asked Propaganda for faculties and reported on the state of their missions.[46]

The relationship between Propaganda and the secular clergy in North America was, then, very direct and well-structured. There is no doubt that they all -- from the bishops to the simple missionaries -- looked upon Rome and particularly upon Propaganda as the source of their jurisdiction and spiritual power. This is less true of the regular orders, since they had a double loyalty -- toward Rome (Propaganda) and their direct superiors. Still, with a few important exceptions, they too maintained a good relationship with the Congregation, especially after the creation of the bishoprics of Quebec and Baltimore.

4. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The America of the eighteenth century was markedly different from that of the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, the focus was on the Atlantic Ocean rather than on the American mainland. Englishmen and Frenchmen alike were still confined to the shores of the New World, and, while the French enjoyed a better knowledge of and claimed dominance over the interior of the continent, in fact they were clustered around the St. Lawrence basin. While skirmishes between the French and the English virtually began the very moment they set foot in the New World, Americans and Canadians were too busy with their economic and demographic problems to try to overpower each other. For their part, London and Versailles reasoned in terms of European strategies, and the American colonies weighed little in the European balance of power. North America was not only a new world, but a different one, separated from Europe by a vast and perilous ocean and overwhelmingly populated by non-Europeans.

Eighteenth-century North America was very different. While the British colonies grew spectacularly in population, New France extended itself to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, though in most cases the French enjoyed only token possession. The economy became less and less an issue, while both Versailles and London came to regard their colonies in imperial and military terms in the much wider theatre of worldwide pre-dominance. Not only the Atlantic Ocean, but most of the North American continent had been tamed. The Mediterranean Sea was now more hostile than the Atlantic Ocean, and the shores of North Africa (let alone the interior) certainly more foreign to Europeans than their American counterparts. What had been outposts in an unknown world became only appendages of their European mother countries.[47]

Secluded in the city-state of Rome, far away from America but also from the courts of St. James's and Versailles, Propaganda officials too were affected by and participated in this general shift in the European perception of the New World. Like all bureaucrats, however, they did not like change, and left to themselves would have changed as little as possible. This conservative attitude is mirrored in the organization of their archives, whose operative structure (documents were stored to be used, not to be preserved for posterity) clearly reflects Propaganda officials' working style. At the beginning, all Propaganda officials met periodically in plenary sessions ("Congregazioni Generali"), and incoming documents were filed in the series entitled SOCG, while the proceedings of the meetings were recorded in the Acta series. SOCG documents were arranged geographically, according to the place of origin of the incoming document. While this arrangement is proof of the international outlook of Propaganda's early officials, it sometimes prevented easy access to documentary evidence. Rudimentary mistakes on the part of unknowing copyists who, for example, confused Armenia with America or Newfoundland (Terranova) with the Holy Land (Terrasanta) would not make the search any easier.[48] After 1669, SOCG documents were arranged chronologically, but the geographical arrangement was introduced or continued for other series, like Congressi and Congregazioni Particolari. No other substantial reforms intervened in Propaganda's working style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On two different occasions a proposal was put forward to establish procurators to deal with certain portions of the world, but both proposals were rejected.[49] Evidently, Propaganda felt no need to overstructure itself nor to change a well-oiled routine.

Taken in the limits of its North American policies, this unchanging working style of Propaganda is reflected in the astonishing uniformity of its attitude toward the New World. Times changed, officials changed, and yet, well into the latter half of the eighteenth century, every decision made by Propaganda was predictable, regardless of what changes were taking place in the development of North America. While every opportunity was seized to spread the influence of Catholicism in the New World, Propaganda was careful never to raise the suspicions of the leading forces in the colonies nor to act against the established hierarchies of the various regular orders. Time was a vital factor in shaping Propaganda's decisions, but it was time measured by eternity, not by the need for immediate results. Often, delay was preferred over action, since better results could be achieved in the long run. In assessing their colonial options, France and England were guided by economic, imperial or military motivations. (The conversion of the American savages was a motivation only in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries). As to the Holy See, the idea of expansion was inherent in the very existence of the (missionary) church, while the success of the expansion was assessed by the number of accomplished conversions, the number of operational missionaries, and the number of bishoprics around the world, regardless of their location on the world map.[50]

The case of Simon Stock is a particularly good example of all these ideas at work. Although confused as to the real location of his project (space), Propaganda officials encouraged Stock (opportunity seized) until the Order's opposition was discovered (hierarchies respected). The Avalon entreprise was then abandoned so as not to jeopardize the Middle East status quo (space, again), while other regular orders were contacted (time).[51] Similarly, it took sixteen years before Laval, who had been selected as vicar apostolic of Canada in 1658, could be appointed bishop of Quebec in 1674, since all opposition in France had first to be appeased or won over.[52] Many years later, when Canada became a conquered colony and its Catholics were still without a bishop (Henri-Marie Dubreil de Pontbriand died in 1760), the chapter of Quebec resolved to elect its bishop autonomously, and then to ask Rome's approval. Propaganda positively rejected the procedure:

> Né alcun titolo o ragione puo competere al capitolo di quella cattedrale, né al clero della diocesi nominare, e molto meno di eleggere, i loro vescovo. [...] E stato dunque un atto nullo [...] [e] anche di pericolosissimo esempio. [See Appendix A for translation.]

Propaganda, however, added that "Sua Santità non avrà difficoltà di deputare per vicario apostolico lo stesso ecclesiastico eletto per vescovo di quel capitolo."[53] [See Appendix A for translation.] A few years later, at the beginning of the American War of American Independence, Propaganda was not disturbed by the fact that this was, after all, a revolution against an established authority. It waited to see who would come out the winner, and then it came to terms with the representatives of the American Congress, managing to convince the new rulers to accept the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in the United States.[54]

It would be a mistake to consider this unchanging working style of Propaganda and the uniformity of its decisions as evidence that Propaganda was not affected by the general shift in the European perception of the New World. Things did indeed change, even for Propaganda officials. Over the decades, a new geographical awareness slowly replaced the confusion North America had caused to the early officials of the Congregation. In the 1620s they had been unable to locate Lord Baltimore's colony of Avalon on the island of Newfoundland, which was probably the portion of North America best known to early seventeenth-century Europeans.[55] They appointed Pacifique de Provins prefect of the missions of Canada (i.e., Acadia), and continued to style him with that title even though he never went to North America and spent most of his American life in the West Indies.[56] They suggested that a mission in Guyana could make it possible to find an overland passage through North America leading to the Indians of New Mexico.[57] Random mistakes of this kind became less and less frequent in the second half of the seventeenth century, and were virtually non-existent in the eighteenth century. Marginal notes, which served the purpose of identifying the geographical location of a document, became more precise, although there was still room for confusion. "Canada" became "Quebec" after the erection of the bishopric, and reverted to "Canada" in the late eighteenth century. The British continental colonies were always "Indie Occidentali" (and as such were often confused with the islands proper), until they were referred to as "Baltimore" on account of the new bishopric. "America" usually meant Spanish or Portuguese America, while Newfoundland was simply "Terranova." Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were a special case, as they are today. Since they were islands, they were usually included with the West Indies, although it was evident that they were far away from the Caribbean seas.[58]

In view of what was happening elsewhere in the world, it is not surprising that this shift in perception became more evident in the second half of the eighteenth century, as shown by the sheer quantity of North American material received by Propaganda from the early 1760s onwards. From the end of the Seven Years War the amount of mail increased out of all proportions to the previous period. It is worth noting, for example, that a third (33.5%) of the 460 letters of North American interest written by Propaganda over the 177 years between 1622 and 1790 are dated between 1622 and 1759, while the other two thirds (66.5%) were sent between 1760 and 1799. Correspondence with the bishops of Quebec (Briand, d'Esgly, Jean-François Hubert, Pierre Denaut) became a regular duty for Propaganda officials. Even more time-consuming was Propaganda's correspondence with the bishop of Quebec's vicar general in Paris, the Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, whose passion for letter-writing was almost matched by his successor, Villars. After Carroll's appointment as prefect apostolic of the missions in the United Provinces of America, Propaganda began a regular correspondence not only with the future bishop, but also with a number of his American confrères who had been in hiding most of their lives and wanted to profit from the new climate of religious tolerance. On some matters relating to North America, Propaganda prepared detailed dossiers for the use of the secretary -- a small change from previous working practices that can be interpreted as a new awareness of the importance of American events.[59] At the same time, new openings for missions were found in Newfoundland, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, in the Canadian Northwest, among the Iroquois, and along the Ohio River.[60]

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a better knowledge of North American events accompanied Propaganda's increasing awareness of the geography of the New World. The instruction sent to Pietro Pamphili Colonna, archbishop of Colossus and nuncio in France, on 28 March 1764, well described the state of the French colonies of America after the Conquest and the political strategy to be employed for the appointment of a new bishop in Canada to replace Pontbriand.[61] Twenty years later, another instruction was prepared for the new nuncio in France, Doria Pamphili, who was sent to participate in the preliminaries of the Treaty of Paris. Dated 15 January 1783, it clearly detailed the North American jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec and the former responsibilities of the vicar apostolic in the London district over the British colonies of North America.[62] Doria Pamphili's successor, Antonio Dugnani, archbishop of Rhodes, received yet another instruction, on the eve of his departure for Paris, in which he was provided with details of current affairs in the United States and the West Indies. The instruction contained a full list of agents that Propaganda employed in Paris. The nuncio was advised to contact them to obtain information on events in various parts of the world for which they were responsible -- from China to Quebec, from Cayenne to Senegal, from Ile-de-France to Constantinople, from Cochinchina to Madagascar.[63]

Also evident in Propaganda's attitude toward the New World is a change of emphasis regarding the conversion of the Indians -- that is, as an early missionary put it, upon the establishment of Indian missions "a tutti quelli parti settentrionali d'America, che sono plene di populi che mai hanno senti[to] novo del Santo Evangelio."[64] [See Appendix A for translation.] In the early days, North America was regarded as a land of emptiness, and was considered important for its savages and barbarous inhabitants, not for the few Europeans who had settled there.[65] In 1642, Pacifique de Provins refused to go to Acadia, which he described as a barren wilderness covered by snow for six months of the year, and forests where one could walk for no more than a mile every five days. Worse still, the Indians were very few, not more than 500 dispersed over 200 or 300 leagues. Pacifique had no intention of "finire la vita [sua] a confessare 40 catholici francesi." That is why he asked to be sent somewhere else in North America, where there were "molti piu selvatici da cristianizzare."[66] [See Appendix A for translation.]

With the failure of the Jesuit missions among the Hurons in the late 1640s and the growing number of Europeans who migrated to the New World, the missions among the Indians became less important, while the need to maintain the True Faith among the Catholic settlers increased. Laval's detailed yearly reports to Propaganda usually devoted only a few lines at the end to the Indian missions, even though his strict co-operation with the Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères of Paris made him more aware of the needs of the missions than any of his successors.[67] In 1729 Dosquet asked Propaganda for permission to ordain "i nativi di quel paese" ad titulum missionis. [See Appendix A for translation.] Today's reader is likely to take Dosquet's words as a reference to the Indians of Canada, but Propaganda officials well knew that Dosquet had in mind Europeans born in Canada, and no confusion arose.[68] Later still, in 1769, Briand informed Propaganda that he had some hope of being authorized to use former Jesuits for the Indian missions, "pour les quelles les Canadiens n'ont guères de goût mais que devrois-je faire."[69] [See Appendix A for translation.] In their attitude toward the Indian missions, Propaganda and the clergy operating in Canada (with some notable exceptions on the part of the Society of Jesus) closely resembled French government and society. At the beginning of colonization, both regarded the conversion of native Americans as their chief task and duty. Later, the needs of the European settlers became a priority for both.[70]

There seems to be little doubt that the attitude of Propaganda towards North America changed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries according to the pattern experienced by France and England. On the one hand, the unchanging working style and the uniformity of their North American policies seem to indicate that the officials of Propaganda resisted change, and, like all bureaucrats, often favoured the machine over the aims for which that machine had been created. On the other hand, their increasing awareness of the geography and of the events of the New World, their attitude towards the conversion of the Indians, together with the great quantity of North American material received (particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century) show that the officials of Propaganda shared the same image of North America (albeit a more confused and less detailed one) as their English and

French colleagues, and often made their decisions according to the same range of options. It remains to be seen why all this happened.

5. AN AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

During the Ancien Régime, change had been so slow that it did not affect the lives of individual citizens. Generation after generation had been trained to believe that, while small alterations could make their lives a little better or a little worse, they would substantially follow in their parents' footsteps. The second half of the eighteenth century shook this general belief in a static and unchangeable world, in Europe as well as in America. The Seven Years' War turned North America from a largely French continent to an English-speaking one. While Canada lost its religious uniformity and most of its political and military leaders, the British colonies lost their hostile neighbours, and the opportunity arose to rally against the English "tyrants." Contrary to all expectations, the American Revolution became a reality for the governments of Western Europe. The French Revolution and what followed it were even more terrifying to the European establishment, since its social character and the violence it originated touched all facets of Western society as it was then known. Kings were beheaded, nobles fled the country, peasants became popular leaders, popes were arrested and exiled. Individual citizens began to realize, in Europe as well as in America, that change was indeed possible within the short span of their own lives, and that the future could be significantly different from the past, for better or, indeed, for worse.

The Holy See had entered a period of great difficulties. Its supernational status waned. The gap between the missionary church, zealously striving to survive in a perilous land, and the routinière church, operating within a well-established tradition of relations with the civil authorities in such countries as Italy and France, was widening, with a crisis of vocations as one of its results.[71] The heroic age of missions was long past, and they were now experiencing a period of tragic collapse. Rome's inability to cope with the political pressures exercised by other European governments led to the implementation of the papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (1773), which suppressed the Society of Jesus with its 22,589 members, withdrawing some 3,000 Jesuits from their mission fields.[72] When the French Revolution threatened the very existence of the Catholic Church in France, and significantly disrupted the missionary network Propaganda had been organizing via Paris for decades, the Holy See was simply overwhelmed by the magnitude of events that no government in Europe had been able to anticipate.

Oddly enough, in the years immediately following the eruption of the French "turbamenti,"[73] Propaganda officials began to look at their mission fields in Protestant North America as the only real alternative to the European catastrophe. The young churches of Canada, Newfoundland and the United States were to provide a refuge for priests and religious institutions fleeing Europe. As already noted, in 1785, the nuncio in France, Dugnani, was advised to contact the network of all agents that Propaganda had organized in Paris. Four years later, in 1789, times had changed. On account of the frightening news coming from Paris, Dugnani wrote, "Le meilleur parti est celui d'aller en Amerique." In 1790, someone from the offices of Propaganda (its prefect, Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, or its pro-secretary, Giulio de Carpineo) wrote to the nuncio that he was "immerso nella piu profonda amarezza" for the loss "di queste due grandi istituzioni di S. Sulpizio e del Seminario delle Missioni Straniere," since for their loss "vanno a perdersi tanti vicari apostolici, tante missioni feconde, tante anime guadagnate alla Fede di Gesù Cristo con spese immense e con incessanti sudori." [See Appendix A for translation.] According to the writer, though, the idea of leaving France for the American missions was a dangerous one, since that was "un campo pieno di spine e di triboli, [...] e ogni emulazione del par[t]ito de protestanti, che è prontissimo in quegli stati, potrebbe distruggere e devastare tutte le fatighe degli agricoltori evangelici di quella vigna." [See Appendix A for translation.] The suggestion was made that the majority of the members of the two religious institutions be sent to North and South America, but that in Paris "almeno la semenza di questo illustre Seminario [des Missions-Étrangères]" be left, "acciocché in ogni favorevole evento possa subito ristabilirsi quest'opera così salutare." [See Appendix A for translation.] The agent of the English clergy in Rome, Robert Smelt, expressed similar views one year later: "Religion seems to thrive in America, whilst it loses ground in Europe."[74]

The situation in France deteriorated, and by 1793 any hope of recovery was abandoned. The bishop of Baltimore, Carroll, was informed that "In tantis [...] quibus quotidie augimur angustiis, ac in tantis catholicae fidei in Europa illatis vulneribus, a provinciis americanis expectamus solacium."[75] [See Appendix A for translation] Similar words were used with the bishop of Quebec, Hubert, in 1794, and with O'Donel, new bishop of Thyatira and vicar apostolic in Newfoundland. The latter was told in 1796: "Catholicos [...] a nefaria irreligionis atque incredulitatis vertigine, quam in nostra Europa misere vagare deflemus, strenue defendas."[76] [See Appendix A for translation] That same year, Napoleon invaded Italy. Two years later, Pius VI was taken prisoner, and Propaganda fled to safer grounds in Padua.

All Europeans considered the British defeat in the American War of Independence an event of great significance. Some countries were directly affected by its outcome (France, Spain, Rome). Others simply used the American example to assess their internal political options (Germany, Tuscany, Venice). Naturally enough, the French Revolution was even more important, since it touched upon the lives and thoughts of all Europeans. As Europeans, the officials of Propaganda participated in this general trend. The values and ideas that had served them for more than a century changed under the pressure of unforeseeable events.[77]

Their involvement, however, only partially explains why Propaganda officials followed their French and English colleagues in matters dealing with North America. The rest of the explanation lies in their role as recipients of American correspondence. Propaganda officials lived in Rome and never had any opportunity to see the far-away places they administered. Their correspondents, on the other hand, were on the spot. They were not only witnesses but often also participants in events. Their participation varied according to the individual's social position. The nuncio in France, for example, was a high diplomat living in the Court of Versailles. For him, North America was a small portion of his greater European responsibilities. Although unlikely to be particularly interested in North American events, the nuncio was usually well informed on activities at Court, thus helping Propaganda to understand the essential background to the American colonies of the "Most Christian King." As a trained diplomat, however, he knew better than anybody else how to deal with Propaganda. He wrote often (neither rough seas nor winter ice inhibited him), always acknowledged letters received, duly answered queries and clearly stated new items on which decisions had to be made. His letters were short and clear. Propaganda officials found them easy to process, and answered in similar style. It was bureaucracy at its best.

Unlike the nuncios, the bishops of Quebec and Baltimore lived in North America, were in fact Americans, thought and acted as Americans. For practical reasons, they usually wrote once a year and combined a general report on the state of religion in their dioceses with a list of requests. When reading these letters, Propaganda officials were certainly aware that the information they provided and the requests they contained originated not in some European office but on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Laval's letters, with their strange names of Indian tribes and Canadian villages; Briand's letters, with their praises of the Protestant British governor and their firm stand against the American revolutionaries; Carroll's letters, with their images of rebel priests fighting established authority in the town of Philadelphia or in the Illinois wilderness -- these all provided a picture of American reality that could not be mistaken for anything else.

The letters of individual missionaries were, however, the ones that plunged the bureaucrats of Propaganda deepest into the reality of the New World, closest to the human needs of the missionaries and their flock. Since there was no routine correspondence with the missionaries, these letters were special. Often they contained requests for faculties or privileges and sometimes for help against hostile superiors. In some cases no request was made. The letters were simply prompted by the urge to let the centre of catholicism know what was being done and what results were being achieved in some distant and unheard-of land. Neufville's letter of 1668 dealing with Newfoundland fishermen has already been discussed. Around 1765, a report on Louisiana written by the Jesuit François-Philibert Watrin found its way to the desks of Propaganda. Officials were informed that the Illinois, who sixty years before numbered 10,000, were now reduced to 800 or 900, and that the cause of their decline rested with "la fréquentation des François." Watrin explained:

> Ils veulent jouir les douceurs dont ils voient l'usage parmi les François; ils s'amolissent, et ne peuvent plus resister à la vie dure qu'il faut mener malgré soi quand on passe comme eux l'hyver au milieu des bois.[78] [See Appendix A for translation.]

In 1785, the Capuchin Charles Maurice Whelan, recently arrived in New York, wrote to the nuncio in France, Doria Pamphili, to report on his adventurous career. He had been chaplain in the French fleet commanded by François-Joseph-Paul, Count de Grasse, who was defeated at Les Saintes on 12 April 1782 in what was then considered "the hottest and most terrible, and also the most disastrous, of sea-fights since the invention of gunpowder." A prisoner in Jamaica for thirteen months, he ministered to 3,563 Frenchmen, 800 Spanish and 35 Americans, before finding his way to the United Provinces of America. Adding a cosmopolitan touch to his report, he ended his letter by suggesting that any priest operating in New York had at least to speak Gaelic, English, French and Dutch, and that some Spanish and Portuguese were also advisable. Whelan's letter was subsequently forwarded by the nuncio to Propaganda.[79] Every example is a case-study in itself, and the list is virtually endless. Significantly, each item eventually ended up in the hands of the same people in the offices of Propaganda.

All incoming correspondence was quickly and efficiently processed according to the ritual defined above as Propaganda's "unchanging working style." The historian is somewhat frustrated when, searching in the archives of Propaganda for universal views of European colonization of the New World, general considerations on the conversion of native populations, and overall plans for re-converting North American heretics to Catholicism, he finds next to nothing. But Propaganda officials were administrators, not intellectuals. Like their colleagues in France and England, they were unlikely to be political scientists or philosophers, since they were too busy with pending business to devote any significant portion of their precious time to discuss the overall meaning of their task. (After all, their faith was there to provide all the answers). They did not have much time to read, either. They most appreciated letters whose requests were clearly singled out and whose general descriptions were kept to a minimum. The nuncios, as we have seen, were masters in the art of letter-writing. Conversely, individual missionaries were often verbose, and sometimes did not even have any special requests. In this case, the letter was read but not processed, and it was likely to disappear into the archives. This is what happened, for example, to the first general description of North America to reach Propaganda, a report written in 1625 by the Recollet Gregorio Bolìvar, which was never used.[80]

If Propaganda officials were not intellectuals, they certainly were good bureaucrats, if only because they tended to their daily routine while letting their minds wander about. This allowed them to absorb the winds of change that touched them through their correspondents around the world. Those who wrote to Propaganda were mostly North Americans or were directly connected with North American events. They were Bolìvar, a friar with twenty years of experience in South America; Stock, who was a friend of Lord Baltimore's and claimed to have converted the English nobleman; Pacifique de Provins, who was said to have been killed by the "cannibals" of Guyana; Neufville, a diocesan priest ministering to the Newfoundland fishermen; François-Joseph Le Mercier, the Jesuit superior in Martinica, formerly superior in New France;[81] Laval and Briand, bishops of Quebec; L'Isle-Dieu and

Villars, vicars general of the diocese of Quebec in Paris; Watrin, a missionary with long experience in the Illinois country; Carroll, bishop of Baltimore; and Whelan, a former sea-chaplain before becoming a missionary in the American republic. It is all too easy to add one name after another to that list. What has to be noted, however, is not the quantity of Propaganda's correspondents, but their most important qualifications -- they were all active participants in the history of North America for the two centuries discussed here. They saw the New World change before their very eyes and were often the instruments of that change. Through their letters, requests, queries, descriptions, reports and petitions, Propaganda officials too became part of the process.

The reason why Propaganda's attitude towards North America changed, as did that of France and England, is twofold. On the one hand, as important members of a European government who lived in the centre of the Catholic world, the officials of Propaganda shared most experiences and indeed the same reality as their counterparts in other European capitals. Points of view could be and often were different, but the general frame of reference was the same. North America found its way into that frame of reference in the second half of the eighteenth century, first with the Seven Years War, then with the American Revolution, later still in the period of the French Revolution.[82] From this perspective, Propaganda (together with the Holy See in general) changed its attitude towards North America according to a pattern that was similar to that of all other European govenments who had a way in the international balance of power. On the other hand, Propaganda's relationship with its North American correspondents made its case very special, similar only to that of France and England. From 1622 onwards, letters poured in that portrayed the changing reality of the New World as experienced by those who lived there. Little by little, Propaganda officials came to share their correspondents' ideas, viewpoints, perceptions and images. In Rome, as well as in London and Paris, decisions regarding North America were made according to a frame of reference that was deeply influenced by those Europeans who had chosen to live in the New World.

6. CONCLUSIONS

We have examined the general framework of the relationship between Rome and North America and shown how Propaganda's attitude towards the New World changed according to a pattern similar to that of France and England. At this point, one is likely to be confronted by the obvious question: Did the Holy See's policies toward North America have any real impact on the development of its history? In the past, Catholic historians made no distinction between the Holy See and Catholicism in general. The two were equated under a missiological interpretation that portrayed the progress of religion in a particular country (Canada or the United States).[83] The case of Spanish and Portuguese America (which has already been discussed) shows that recognition of the role played by Catholicism in shaping the historical development of the New World does not necessarily mean that the Holy See had any part in it. Recently, other historians have simply taken for granted the importance of Catholicsm in the New World, and found that the Holy See had in fact hindered the development of the Catholic church in the United States in the period immediately following the War of American Independence.[84]

This writer believes that the question of the real impact of the Holy See upon North American development cannot be answered in general terms, but only with reference to specific areas, people and times. In the Newfoundland example that introduces this chapter, one could argue that the intervention of the Holy See was a mere formality, since O'Donel's appointment had already been decided upon in St. John's and Waterford, and Propaganda simply took note of a decision already made and recorded it in its files. One could also argue, however, that the roundabout journey of the petition of the citizens of Newfoundland shows the general awareness of the Holy See's final say on the matter. Had Propaganda refused to comply with the request to appoint O'Donel, the island would have been left in the hands of those two or three "scandalous" priests, who, like others before them, had been unable to achieve a significant following within their community or provide it with a sense of religious identity. The Newfoundland example is necessarily uneventful and narrow in its scope. Other case-studies could be more rewarding for their broader context or for the number of questions raised -- the Avalon colony, Laval's appointment, the Conquest of Canada, the establishment of the new America republic, to mention only some of the examples already touched upon. To approach our subject in more general terms would be as meaningless as to examine the so-called "real" impact of France and England upon the historical development of North America. There certainly was an impact, if only because France and England (like the Holy See) enjoyed a two-way relationship with the New World. To go beyond that simple assertion, however, involves a deeper examination of case-studies, from which new assumptions can be drawn.

NOTES

All references to documents of Propaganda are given according to the item numbers as shown in the *Calendar*.

1 William Egan to James Louis O'Donel, Clonmel, 23 Dec. 1783, SOCG 577; James Keating, Patrick Gaul, John Commins and Lewis Maddock to James Talbot, [Waterford], 14 Jan. 1784, SOCG 576; Keating, Gaul and Commins to [Talbot], Waterford, 14 Jan. 1784, Westminster Diocesan Archives [hereafter WDA], A, vol. 42, no. 44; O'Donel to [Talbot], Waterford, 19 Jan. 1784, id., no. 59; Egan to [Talbot], Clonmel, 4 Feb. 1784, id., no. 47; O'Donel to Talbot, Waterford, 31 Dec. 1784, SOCG 578; Propaganda's internal memorandum [Rome, 1784], SOCG 575.

2 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 May 1784, Acta 209; Propaganda to Egan, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 295; Propaganda to O'Donel, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 296; Propaganda to Talbot, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 297; Leonardo Antonelli and Stefano Borgia to Talbot, Rome, 5 June 1784, WDA, A, vol. 42, nos. 53-54.

3 John Huxtable Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 100; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, II: *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*, New York: Academic Press, 1980, pp. 179-180; Kenneth Gordon Davies, *North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press - London: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 37-42; William John Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV, 1663-1701*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964, pp. 31-32; Ian R. Christie, *Crisis of Empire. Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1754-1783*, London: Edward Arnold, 1966, pp. 11-12; Jack P. Greene, "An Uneasy Connection. An Analysis of the Preconditions of the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973, pp. 40-45; I.K. Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy. The Board of Trade and Colonial Administration, 1696-1720*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

4 Elliott, *Old World and New*, pp. 80-81; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America*, New York: Harper, 1966, pp. 15-18, 68-69; J.H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, London: Hutchinson, 1966, pp. 154-157; Jacques Heers, *Christophe Colomb*, Paris: Hachette, 1981, pp. 512-515; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964, pp. 141-142; Ignacio Ting Pong Lee, "La actitud de la Sagrada Congregacion frente al Regio Patronado," in Josef Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, I/1: *1622-1700*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 353-438; William E. Shiels, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961.

5 Pacifique de Provins to Niccolò Guidi di Bagno, Nantes, 2 Nov. 1647, SOCG 148.

6 On the international status of the Holy See, see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 254.

7 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 8 March 1622, Acta 1.

8 In the years 1622-1668 (vols. 1-417), SOCG documents were arranged by geographical areas; from 1669 onwards (vols. 418 on), documents were arranged chronologically.

9 [Propaganda] to Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, [Rome], 15 Jan. 1783, Lettere 274.

10 See, for one, the example of Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, who refers to his posting in Canada as a "commission que je n'avois ni desirée ni demandée" ("Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses campagnes en Canada de 1756 a 1759," in Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Collection des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, VII, Quebec: L.-J. Demers, 1985, p. 18).

11 See the example of Louisbourg, conquered in 1745 by an American expedition and restored to the French in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Eccles, *France in America*, Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1972, p. 177). Or the abandonment of the loyalist Iroquois of the American Revolution in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 (Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972, pp. 2-3, 104-106).

12 See the striking example of Louis XIV and his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Henry Ingram Priestley, *France Overseas through the Old Régime. A Study of European Expansion*, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. 146-157; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, p. 252 and passim; Philip P. Boucher, "Comment se forme un ministre colonial: l'initiation de Colbert, 1651-1664," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XXXVII, 3 [December 1983]. pp. 431-452).

13 Eccles, *France in America*, pp. 193-194, 208; George F.G. Stanley, *New France. The Last Phase, 1744-1760*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968, p. 270.

14 Davies, *North Atlantic World*, pp. 240-245; Christie, *Wars and Revolutions. Britain, 1760-1815*, London: Edward Arnold, 1982, p. 86; Christie, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 39-54, 65, 112; Greene, "Uneasy Connection," pp. 63-65; Tiziano Bonazzi, ed., *La rivoluzione americana*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977, p. 38. On William Pitt's Atlantic strategy, see Walter L. Dorn, *Competition for Empire, 1740-1763*, New York: Harper & Row, 1940, p. 357; Eccles, *France in America*, p. 194; Guy Frégault, *La guerre de la conquête, 1754-1760*, Montreal: Fides, 1955, pp. 162-163.

15 Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750. A Social Portrait*, New York: Random House, 1973, pp. 3-5 [1st. ed.: 1971]; Christie, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 112-113.

16 [Mario Alberizzi] to Giulio Rospigliosi, [Rome], 25 June 1661, Lettere 78.

17 Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, 12 Sep. 1667], SOCG 225.

18 Although his sources have never been properly investigated, the only exception to this was Niccolò Forteguerri, who will be discussed later. See also Fortunato Margiotti, "La dotazione libraria dei cardinali di Propaganda Fide nel 1700," *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 367-409. Piero Del Negro has listed all works dealing with Canada that were published in Italy prior to 1800 (Piero Del Negro, "Per una bibliografia italo-canadese. Il Canada nella publicistica italiana dell'età moderna," in Luca Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1983, pp. 13-31; see also Del Negro, "Saggio di una bibliografia delle opere relative agli Stati Uniti apparse in Italia nel Settecento," in Giorgio Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1976, pp. 149-156). Roman periodical literature has never been investigated with regard to North America (see Valerio Castronovo and Nicola Tranfaglia, eds., *La stampa italiana dal 500 all'800*, Bari: Laterza, 1976). On language problems, see Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, p. 326. Chadwick points out, "The monsignori of the Curia were notorious for their belief that Rome was the centre of the world and that nothing outside Rome mattered." (id., p. 155)

19 Pierre-Herman Dosquet to Propaganda, [1729], SOCG 488.

20 Francesco Giuseppe Bressani, *Breve relatione d'alcune missioni de' P.P. della Compagnia di Giesù nella nuova Francia*, Macerata: Per gli heredi d'Agostino Grisei, 1653. On Bressani, see Silvana Frino Zanovello, "La relazione sulla Nuova Francia di Francesco Bressani," *Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni*, II, 5 (1977), pp. 105-118; Stelio Cro, "The Original Letter of Father Bressani Written from Fort Orange in 1644," *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies*, IV, 1-2 (Fall-Winter 1980-1981), pp. 26-67. Unpublished documents in Bressani's handwriting are in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

21 Relazione di Mgr Urbano Cerri alla Santità di NS. PP. Innocenzo XI dello Stato di Propaganda, [1678], Varia 224 (this is probably the most complete copy among the many preserved in Propaganda). See also Bernard Jacqueline, "La S. Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide' en 1678 d'après le rapport d'Urbano Cerri au Pape Innocent XI," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., XLIII (1965), pp. 464-481.

22 Forteguerri, *Memorie intorno alle missioni*, ed. by Carmen Prencipe Di Donna, Naples: M. D'Auria, 1982. Written between 1706 and 1709, the *Memorie* were first published in 1828. See also Luciano Calzamiglia, "Mons. Niccolo Forteguerri e le sue 'Memorie intorno alle missioni,'" unpublished thesis, Pontificia Università Lateranense (1979).

23 Richard Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Dec. 1756, Acta 204; [Propaganda] to Benjamin Petre, Rome, 27 Jan. 1757, Lettere 146.

24 [Challoner], Ragguaglio dello Stato della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie Inglesi d'America, [London, 1756], Southwark Curia Diocesan Archives, ms 37, pp. 417-423; [Challoner], Breve Relazione dello stato della Religione Cattolica in Inghilterra, [London, 1774], id., pp. 429-476; [Challoner], Breve Relazione dello Stato della Religione Cattolica in Inghilterra, [London, 1774], WDA, A, vol. 41, no. 136.

25 Pierre de Neufville to Clement IX, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 361; Neufville to Propaganda, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 367; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 26 March 1669, Acta 134; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 13 May 1669, Acta 137.

26 Faculties granted by Propaganda are to be found, for example, in C 528-539. In 1669, all bishops and vicars apostolic depending on Propaganda were reminded that if they did not comply with Propaganda's order to send annual reports on the state of religion in their territories, their incomes and faculties would be suspended ([Propaganda] to all bishops and vicars apostolic, [Rome], 21 Sep. 1669, Lettere 97).

27 Julien-François Becquet was appointed prefect in 1767; Jean-Baptiste-François Paradis was his vice-prefect and only missionary. See for example [Propaganda] to Joseph-Marie de La Corne de Chaptes, Rome, 27 April 1768, Lettere 197.

28 Neufville to Propaganda, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 367; Eustache de Lotbinière to Clement XIV, Quebec, 22 Oct. 1772, C 103; Lotbinière to [Giuseppe Maria Castelli], [Quebec], 22 Oct. 1772, C 104; Alexandre to Leonardo Antonelli, Vassy, 14 Sep. 1783, C 146; Paolo Moretti to Antonelli, [Rome, 1788], C 522; Patrick Power to [Propaganda], Ferryland, 18 Nov., 1789, C 459; Edmund Burke to Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, Quebec, 15 Aug. 1797, C 236; Friedrich Caesar Reuter to [Cesare Brancadoro], Baltimore, 14 Apr. 1799, C 391.

29 Campeau, *Évêché de Québec*.

30 See Ivanhoë Caron, "Les évêques de Québec, leurs Procureurs et leurs vicaires généraux, à Rome, à Paris et à Londres (1734-1834)," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, 3rd ser., 29 (May 1935), sec. I, pp. 153-178. On Francis Morrogh, see Jean-François Hubert to Antonelli, Quebec, 7 Nov. 1791, SOCG 684. Thomas Douglas, nephew of John Douglas, bishop of Centuria and vicar apostolic in the London district, was sent to Quebec to work for the Morrogh firm. Hubert and John Douglas thus established a practical contact, and Douglas offered to forward Hubert's correspondence to Rome (see Robert Morrogh to John Douglas, Quebec, 10 Aug. 1795, WDA, A, vol. 46, no. 72). On the roundabout journey to England, see Robert Smelt to John Douglas, Rome, May 1794, id., vol. 45, no. 44.

31 James Hennesey, *American Catholics. A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 69-88. On the years 1754-1784, see Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' (1754-1784)," in Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America*, pp. 127-147.

32 [Guido Bentivoglio] to Alessandro Bichi, Rome, 11 June 1632, Lettere 31; [Propaganda] to Celio Piccolomini, [Rome], 25 May 1660, Lettere 75; [Propaganda] to Doria Pamphili, Rome, 17 July 1776, Lettere 257.

33 Carlo Francesco Airoldi to Antonio Barberini, Brussels, 11 Oct. 1670, C 478; Airoldi to Federico Baldeschi Colonna, Brussels, 12 Nov. 1672, SOCG 420.

34 On the Avalon colony, see Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988, p. 45 (1st Italian ed.: 1982). The quotation is from [Propaganda] to Simon Stock, Rome, 17 July 1627, Lettere 14.

35 A comprehensive report commissioned by the Order was heavily edited and reached Propaganda in an almost incomprehensible form. The original report is Bede of the Blessed Sacrament to Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria, London, 24 Oct. 1625, General Archives of the Discalced Carmelites (Rome), *Missiones Europa Anglia. P. Beda a SS. Sacr.: Litterae & relationes 1625/27*, 271.h, ff. 3rv–4rv. The doctored version is [Bede of the Blessed Sacrament] to [Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria], [London, 24 Oct. 1625], SOCG 161. See Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, pp. 26-29.

36 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 3 June 1720, Acta 185; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 March 1721, Acta 186.

37 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 21 July 1625, Acta 5; [Propaganda] to [Muzio Vitelleschi], [Rome, Fall 1625], SOCG 252 (Propaganda's letter includes Vitelleschi's autograph answer).

38 Vitelleschi to Urban VIII, [Rome, 1637], SOCG 333; [Jérôme Lalemant] to Barberini, [1637-8], SOCG 334; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 23 March 1637, Acta 44; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 16 March 1638, Acta 45. See the Jesuit catalogues in C 562 (1635); C 564 (1653); Varia 379 (1653); Varia 180 (1657); Varia 205 (1659); Varia 181 (1667); C 540 (mid-1760s).

39 André Vachon, "Laval, François de," in David M. Hayne and Vachon, eds., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II: *1701 to 1740*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 360-362.

40 [Propaganda] to Jean-Olivier Briand, Rome, 8 Sep. 1773, Lettere 238.

41 In 1756, Challoner pointed out that only in the past few years had the Jesuits asked for faculties, while before they had only requested his approval (Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532).

42 See Claude-Florent Bouchard de La Poterie's pamphlet *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or, A True and Exact History of the Jesuits*, Philadelphia, 1789, SOCG 668, and the allegations contained in La Poterie to Antonelli, Boston, 6 Jan. 1790, SOCG, 532.

43 Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission Capucine en Acadie*, Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1927; Claude L. Vogel, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

44 Conrad Morin, "Les tentatives du secrétaire François Ingoli pour l'érection d'un évêché au Canada (1631-1641)," Causerie donnée au douzième Congrès annuel de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique (Toronto, 1945), pp. 4-7.

45 There is no study on the relationship between Propaganda and the Sulpicians. The standard reference work is Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada*, Montreal: Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912.

46 Albert David, "Les missionnaires du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit à Québec et en Acadie au XVIIIe siècle," *Nova Francia*, I, 1-5 (1925-26), pp. 9-14, 52-56, 99-105, 152-159, 200-207. On their activities in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, see Jean-Yves Ribault, "La population des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon de 1763 à 1793," *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-mer*, LIII, 190-191 (1966), pp. 21-32.

47 Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760*, Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1969, pp. 103-185; Elliott, *Old World and New*, p. 102; Davies, *North Atlantic World*, p. 298.

48 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 22 Nov. 1630, Acta 21; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 4 March 1686, Acta 161; Aimé de Lamballe to Propaganda, Rome, 15 May 1759, SOCG 534; Carlo Agostino Fabroni to the Assessor of the Holy Office, Rome, 10 Apr. 1696, Lettere 122; [Propaganda] to Troy, [Rome], 3 July 1790, Lettere 375.

49 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 26 Oct. 1694, Acta 167; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 27 Feb. 1696, Acta 168; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 3 Oct. 1707, Acta 178.

50 Missionaries, vicars apostolic and bishops were periodically asked to answer 90 questions on the state of their mission territories. The printed form was already extant in 1678 (Propaganda to all missionaries, Rome, 1678, C 527), and was answered by Petre and Challoner as late as 1745 (Petre and Challoner to Propaganda, [London], 3 Sep. 1745, SOCG 531). For Propaganda's attitude toward time in the crucial years 1754-1784, see Codignola, "L'America del Nord," pp. 140-142. See also Relazione di Mgr Urbano Cerri, and Forteguerri, *Memorie intorno alle Missioni*.

51 Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, p. 56 and passim.

52 Campeau, *Évêché de Québec*.

53 [Propaganda] to Pietro Pamphili Colonna, [Rome], 28 March 1764, Varia 187. See also Castelli to [Mario Marefoschi], [Rome], 21 Jan. 1766, Varia 409.

54 Codignola, "L'America del Nord," pp. 139-140.

55 David Beers Quinn et al., eds., *New American World. A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, IV: *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony. North-West Passage Searches*, New York: Arno Press, 1979, pp. 1-178; Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 34-52; Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered. English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1982; Louis Booker Wright, *Religion and Empire. The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625*, New York: Octagon Books, 1973, pp. 134-149 [1st ed.: 1943]; Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, p. 16. On Propaganda's queries on the site of the Avalon colony, see [Propaganda] to Stock, Rome, 15 Nov. 1625, Lettere 9.

56 In 1647, Pacifique de Provins was still styled "Prefect of the mission of Canada," [Propaganda] to Pacifique de Provins, Rome, 11 Feb. 1647, Lettere 55).

57 Ibidem.

58 See, for example, [Propaganda] to La Corne, Rome, 27 April 1768, Lettere 197.

59 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 13 Aug. 1792, Acta 221: Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 Sep. 1792, Acta 223-226; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 16 June 1794, Acta 229-232.

60 [Propaganda] to O'Donel, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 296; [Propaganda] to Pamphili Colonna, [Rome], 9 April 1766, Lettere 185; [Antonelli] to Hubert, [Rome], 6 April 1791, Lettere 387; [Propaganda] to Antonio Dugnani, [Rome], 11 Sep. 1790, Lettere 387; [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome]. 28 April 1790, Lettere 370.

61 [Propaganda] to Pamphili Colonna, Rome, 28 March 1764, Lettere 167.

62 [Propaganda] to Doria Pamphili, [Rome], 15 Jan. 1783, Lettere 274.

63 [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome], 27 May 1785, Lettere 315.

64 Stock to [Propaganda], London, 28 July 1628, SOCG 48.

65 Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America. Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, p. 32.

66 Pacifique de Provins to Francesco Ingoli, Paris, 12 Dec. 1641, SOCG 104.

67 Noël Baillargeon, *Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Mgr de Laval*, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1972.

68 Dosquet to Propaganda, [1729], SOCG 488; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Oct. 1729, Acta 195; Propaganda to Bartolomeo Massei, [Rome], 20 Oct. 1729, Lettere 132.

69 Briand to [Castelli], Quebec, 29 Oct. 1769, Varia 264.

70 Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, p. 140; Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions. Studies in Cultural Conflict*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 113.

71 Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, pp. 210-211; Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, II: *La chiesa e la repubblica dentro i loro limiti 1758-1774*, Turin: Einaudi, 1976, pp. 149-150; Giovanni Tabacco, *Andrea Tron (1712-1785) e la crisi dell'aristocrazia senatoria a Venezia*, Trieste: Università degli Studi, 1957, p. 127.

72 Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, pp. 204-207; Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648-1789*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970, pp. 213-214; Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, pp. 245-390.

73 [Propaganda] to John Carroll, [Rome], 22 May 1790, Lettere 371.

74 Dugnani to Francesco Saverio Zelada, Carpentras, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Segreteria di Stato, Francia*, vol. 580. f. 98r; [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome], 28 July 1790, Lettere 377; Robert Smelt to Thomas Horrabin, Rome, 2 March 1791, WDA, A, vol. 43, no. 45.

75 [Propaganda] to Carroll, [Rome], 22 Feb. 1793, Lettere 402.

76 [Propaganda] to Hubert, [Rome], 27 Sep. 1794, Lettere 415; [Propaganda] to O'Donel, [Rome], 16 Jan. 1796, Lettere 429.

77 On Germany, see Horst Dipple, *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770-1800. A Sociohistorical Investigation of Late Eighteenth-Century Political Thinking*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977. On Tuscany and Italy in general, Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America*, pp. 9-156. On Venice, Del Negro, *Il mito americano nella Venezia del Settecento*, Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1975.

78 François-Philibert Watrin to [Pamphili Colonna], [France, 1765], C 267.

79 Charles Maurice Whelan to [Doria Pamphili], [New York], 28 Jan. 1785, C 322. The description of the battle is in James Breck Perkins, *France in the American Revolution*, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970, p. 398 [1st ed.: 1911].

80 Relacion de la Virginia por fr. Gregorio de Bolìvar menor observante Predicator de la Yndia Ocidental, [Rome, 1625],Varia 223. On Bolìvar's report see Metzler, "Der älteste Bericht über Nordamerika in Propaganda-Archiv," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/ Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*, XXV (1969), pp. 29-37; Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, pp. 21, 60-61.

81 On François-Joseph Le Mercier, see Gerard Brion and Le Mercier to Propaganda, [1670], SOCG 396; Le Mercier to Propaganda, [Cayenne, 1677], SOCG 429; [Propaganda] to Le Mercier, [Rome], 1 Oct. 1680, Lettere 119.

82 For Italy, see Spini et al., *Italia e America*, pp. 27-156, and in particular Anna Maria Martellone's "Introduzione," pp. 27-37.

83 Codignola, "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide', 1622-1799. Études," *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française*, 21 (December 1980), pp. 1-12.

84 Hennesey, *American Catholics*, pp. 72, 87-88.

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROPAGANDA AND ITS JURISDICTION

The Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was officially established by Gregory XV in June 1622, with the bull *Inscrutabili divinae providentiae*.[1] Propaganda was founded to spread the True Faith among the infidels, to protect it where Catholics lived side by side with non-Catholics, and ultimately to achieve union with the Protestant and the Orthodox churches. The new Congregation was meant to pursue these goals by coordinating all missionary activities and centralizing information on foreign lands.

The idea of founding a special Roman congregation for missionary activities long pre-dated the actual establishment of Propaganda. At first, by virtue of the so-called royal patronage, the Pope had delegated all spiritual powers over Spanish and Portuguese possessions around the world to their respective kings. Obviously, this system limited the influence of the popes and of the Holy See in general as far as the evangelization of the new territories was concerned.[2] Pius V (1566-1572) set up a special congregation for missionary matters and another one for the affairs of the church in Germany and other countries influenced by Protestantism. A similar initiative by Gregory XIII (1572-1585) suffered from the same lack of success as the two preceding attempts. The same pope, however, was successful in establishing a congregation for Germany and one for the Italo-Greeks. It was Clement VIII (1592-1605) who eventually founded a congregation "de Propaganda Fide," which lasted from 1599 to 1604. Fresh plans and initiatives were made under Paul V (1605-1621), but it was only under his successor, Gregory XV (1621-1623), that the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" came to life.[3]

From the very beginning, North America came under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. It was only with the bull *Sapienti consilio*, issued by Pius X on 29 June 1908, that the United States and Canada were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Congregation, together with Newfoundland, Great Britain, Scotland, Holland and Luxemburg.[4]

The new congregation was at first housed in the Vatican palaces, and then in the palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica. Shortly after the death of Propaganda's first Secretary, Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649), the offices of the Congregation and its archives were moved to Piazza di Spagna, in the recently completed palace, where it has been ever since.[5] During the troubled years at the end of the eighteenth century and the French occupation of Rome, Propaganda officials left Rome and moved to Padua. As for its archives, Napoleon had most of them transferred to France. The archives were soon restored to the Holy See and sent to Rome, but in the process a number of volumes were lost and have never been retraced. Some of them were later brought to Vienna, and from there were restored to the Holy See in 1925 (these last ones are known today as Fondo Vienna).[6]

At the beginning, Propaganda consisted of thirteen cardinals selected by the Pope, of whom one was appointed prefect. The prefect was invariably a cardinal. Although not a cardinal, the secretary was Propaganda's most influencial official after the prefect. Shortly after its foundation, Propaganda was also given a religious of the Carmelite Order, then a protonotary apostolic (1626) and the so-called Assessor of the Holy Office (1630). In their work, Propaganda officials were helped by clerks ("minutanti"), and, when the archives became too large and needed special staff, by archivists.[7]

In dealing with the working patterns of Propaganda officials, one must bear in mind that these did not substantially change until 1893, when the system was reformed.[8] As a rule, all cardinals met periodically in what was then called the "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation). Sometimes, especially in the earlier days, these meetings took place coram Sanctissimo, i.e., in the presence of the Pope.[9] Questions that required deeper study were entrusted to a special committee, usually consisting of a number of Propaganda cardinals who claimed special expertise in the area, besides some prelates from other sacred congregations or curial offices who were reputed to be particularly competent to deal with the case. These special committees were called the "Congregazione Particolare" (Special Congregation). They were appointed when the need arose and were disbanded when the case was solved.

Sometimes in the middle of the seventeenth century it became clear to Propaganda officials that a number of cases were of lesser importance and as such unworthy of being discussed by the whole of the cardinals of Propaganda in the General Congregations. They were then dealt with by the prefect and the secretary alone in periodical (usually once a week) meetings called "Congresso."

From 1622 to 1665 the General Congregations, as we have seen, were often held coram Sanctissimo. From 1666 onwards this custom changed. The secretary of Propaganda (seldom its prefect) was entrusted with the duty of referring to the Pope those matters that needed the Pope's approval. These meetings, called "Udienza" (Audience), were usually held on pre-arranged and fixed days.

In all cases, the decisions made were communicated to the people or institutions concerned in the shape of letters, instructions, decrees, etc. In the next chapter, we shall discuss each case when dealing with each archival series in detail.

NOTES

1 The original bull is in Varia 209. Pope Gregory XV called the new Congregation into existence on 6 Jan. 1622, and the cardinals met for the first time on 14 Jan.; although the bull is dated 22 June, it was probably printed in September, and was certainly ready by 6 Oct. See Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983, p. 13; Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, IV: *1622-1700*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 86-93.

2 On royal patronage, see Chapter One.

3 For a summary of all these initiatives, see Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 11-13. See also the detailed survey by Metzler, "Wegbereiter und Vorläufer der Kongregation. Vorschläge und erste Gründungsversuche einer römischen Missionszentrale," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, IV, pp. 38-78.

4 Niccolò Del Re, *La curia romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1970, p. 193.

5 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16. See also Giovanni Antonazzi, *Il palazzo di Propaganda*, Rome: De Luca, 1979; and Paolo Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, Bari: Laterza, 1978.

6 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16.

7 Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, *Annales* (1963-64), pp. 38-53.

8 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16.

9 For example, ten General Congregations were convened in 1669, ten in 1675, fifteen in 1700, fourteen in 1725, ten in 1750, seven in 1775 and seven in 1790.

III. THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the officials of Propaganda worked according to an almost unchanging pattern that was not reformed until 1893. This is clearly reflected in the organization of the archives of the Congregation. By and large, documents received were filed in the series Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (hereafter SOCG) when discussed in a "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation), in the series Congregazioni Particolari when discussed in a "Congregazione Particolare" (Special Congregation), and in the series Congressi when discussed in a "Congresso." The proceedings of the General Congregations were recorded in the Acta series, while outgoing letters were copied and registered in the Lettere series and other minor series.

We shall now deal with each series and sub-series in detail. The reader must be aware, however, that what follows is not a complete inventory of the archives of Propaganda, for which we refer to Kowalsky and Metzler's 1983 *Inventory*.[1] This is, instead, an inventory of the series and sub-series that were selected for the special purpose of the *Calendar* within its chronological and geographical scope (North America, 1622-1799). The methods employed in this selection will be explained and outlined in detail in Chapter Six.

All documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda are bound together in volumes. All volumes have different titles on their spines, which define, by and large, the kind of documents they contain. Whenever a volume has no title on its spine, or the old title is illegible, then the title shown on the cover, or in the frontispiece, becomes the official title.

Within each volume, pagination is indicated by folios. A folio is a leaf of paper numbered on the front side (recto), unnumbered on the opposite side (verso). In some cases, folios have been numbered two, three and even four times on account of archival re-arrangements. In these instances, the stamped number must be used. In some cases, volumes are numbered by pages, not by folios.

1. ACTA

In the archives of Propaganda, the Acta series may well be singled out as the most important of all series, not because of the documents it contains (in fact there are very few "original" incoming documents in this series), but because it provides the key to an understanding of Propaganda and its activities. Acta is certainly the departure point for anyone conducting research into the archives of Propaganda.

Acta contains the proceedings of the General Congregations. They are bound in volumes that are numbered and follow a chronological order. As such, and with very few exceptions, this series does not contain incoming documents (for example, letters that were addressed to Propaganda). The series starts with vol. 3, which contains the proceedings of the General Congregations that were held from 1622 to 1625. From vol. 4 to vol. 19, each volume contains the proceedings of two years, with one exception (vol. 18, which contains the proceedings of 1648 only). From vol. 20 to vol. 167 (the last volume of the eighteenth century), each one contains the proceedings of a single year. Some volumes are duplicates (vols. 1-2, 5, 9, 11, 40). Vol. 7 contains two volumes bound together, one for the year 1630 and one for the year 1631. Vol. 89 is divided into two tomes. In all, 168 volumes were examined (from vol. 1 to vol. 167; the whole series, up to 1892, consists of 345 volumes).

The reason why the series starts with vol. 3 is that in the early days of Propaganda its officials had hoped to assemble in vols. 1 and 2 the proceedings of the earlier congregations of Propaganda.[2] When those proceedings were eventually recovered, they were placed somewhere else, and now exist as vol. 21 of the series Miscellanee Diverse. Two duplicate volumes took their place.

At first, the proceedings of each General Congregation were opened by a statement of the number of the members of the General Congregation, the date of the meeting, the names of the members of Propaganda in attendance (sometimes only indicated generally) and of those absent, and the place where the meeting was held. Agenda items were numbered. Each item was then introduced by a member of Propaganda, usually the one responsible for the portion of the world concerned or the subject in question. Very often it was the secretary of Propaganda who introduced the item to be discussed. The items were short -- about five to ten lines each. Marginal notes gave the gist of the subject treated. The decision made by the members in attendance was not given separately at the end of each item, but was simply part of the item itself. No blanks were left between one General Congregation and the next, nor between one item and the next. Latin was the only language used. This applies to all General Congregations from 1622 to May-June 1657 (vols. 1-25).

From May-June 1657 onwards, we note a complete change in the organization and appearance of Acta. Italian became the language used in all proceedings, while Latin was still in use for the introductory remarks of each General Congregation (numbers, date, place, names) and for the rescriptum (decision) made. The rescriptum was now placed at the end of the item, separate from the rest. As to the location in which the meeting took place, it was very often omitted, since the meetings were then held in the newly-built palace of Propaganda in Piazza di Spagna. Although there was no substantial difference between the proceedings recorded in vols. 1-25 and those of vols. 26-167, the latter were usually much longer and more detailed. Sometimes, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the report of the member of Propaganda responsible for the subject treated (often referred to as "Cardinal Ponente") took the shape of a separate dossier, usually followed by archival notes, and often by a copy or a summary of the original documents to be examined.

Not only was every item dealt with in a General Congregation progressively numbered, but the General Congregations themselves were, for certain periods, numbered according to the different pontificates:

- General Congregations 1-33 under Gregory XV (Jan. 1622-June 1623);
- General Congregations 1-316 under Urban VII (Sep. 1623-July 1644);
- General Congregations 1-103 under Innocent X (Sep. 1644-March 1649).

For a while (Sep. 1649-May 1657), this system was dropped, and General Congregations went unnumbered. The old system was resumed when the series was reformed, in 1657, with the sequence "General Congregations 1-136 under Alexander VII and Clement IX (May 1657-Dec. 1668)," then definitively abandoned.

Each volume of Acta was provided with a table of contents, which may be more precisely termed an index, placed at the end of each volume. While several systems were tried in their preparation, they usually consisted of the marginal notes of the item referred to, a line of explanation on its subject, and then the numbers of the folios and of the item, or the numbers of the General Congregation and of the item considered.[3]

It should be noted here that, while from 1669 the proceedings of the Special Congregations formed a special series, from 1622 to 1668 they were recorded in Acta. The corresponding original documents were assembled in SOCG.

In theory, the proceedings of the General Congregations should find their corresponding original documents in SOCG. This happens very frequently in the 1669-1799 period, i.e., when the re-organization of SOCG along chronological lines facilitated access to the original material by a simple system of cross-references. It is however possible to find no trace in Acta of documents that appear in SOCG, and vice versa. For the preceding period, 1622-1668, this is considerably more difficult, since the subdivision into geographical areas greatly complicates the search for the original documents.

It is in any case more difficult to know with precision which original documents were used in a General Congregation.

2. SOCG

The SOCG series contains the original documents reported and dealt with in the General Congregations -- letters, memoranda, petitions, short notes, documents meant for Propaganda's internal use. They came from individuals and institutions, from missionaries, vicars apostolic, bishops, nuncios, cardinals, from kings and queens, from pontifical agents around the world and from secret agents active in foreign lands.

All documents are bound in volumes that are numbered progressively from 1 to 906 (the last volume of the eighteenth century; the whole series, up to 1892, consists of 1,044 volumes). In all, 908 volumes were examined (from vol. 1 to vol. 906).

SOCG was once subdivided into two parts, the first running from vol. 1 to vol. 417 (1622-1668), the second from vol. 418 to vol. 1044 (1669-1892). The main difference between the two parts is that the first is arranged along geographical lines, the second in chronological order.

Part One

Running from vol. 1 to vol. 417, the first part of SOCG was once known and referred to as Lettere Antiche. It must not be confused with another series, Lettere, which contains the copies of the letters written by Propaganda officials. Documents are here arranged according to their country of origin (for example, vol. 259 deals with America), or to the matter treated (for example, vol. 180 deals with the heresies of Cirillo Lucari). Some sub-series formerly considered on their own must now be regarded simply as part of SOCG. They were:
- Cause, vols. 311-322;
- Collegi, vols. 361-381;
- Memoriali, vols. 382-417.

Cause contains questions concerning all countries. Collegi refers only to matters pertaining to various colleges around the world. Memoriali contains copies of petitions on various matters; a good number of them are also to be found in the series Congregazioni Particolari. The whole first part, however, must now be referred to simply as SOCG.

The first part of SOCG is considered very difficult for the following reasons:
- Classification according to geographical areas required a good knowledge of the geography of the world. This was not always the case with Propaganda officials, who often confused America with Africa, and the West Indies with the East Indies.[4] North, Central, and South America were often confused, and Acadia, Canada, Maryland, New England, Newfoundland and Virginia were often used to indicate a place very far away from the modern location of the former colonies. It is obvious, however, that the international outlook of the officials of Propaganda made their geographical awareness much better than that of the common people of the time. Moreover, their knowledge of world geography improved toward the end of the seventeenth century, and may be considered sufficiently good in the eighteenth century.

- Different countries were often filed in the same volumes. For example, vol. 106 deals with England, Georgia (in Europe), Ireland, Persia, Scotland, Spain and Tartary in the year 1637.

- If a document dealt with different countries at the same time, it had to be filed under only one heading. This means that a document dealing with two countries was filed under only one of them, usually the one considered more important, and became almost untraceable for the other. For example, vol. 288, which should deal with Greece only, contains important material on the Capuchin missions in Acadia scattered among various documents dealing with the general state of the Capuchin missions in the world.

- Although some documents relating to French and English colonies are to be found under appropriate volume-titles (for example vol. 50, dealing with Africa and the Congo in particular), most of them are under their mother-countries (England, France, Spain, etc.).

- Some documents are untraceable unless we are aware of the pattern of the international network used by Propaganda officials and by the Holy See in general. Reports on the Maryland missions, for example, reached Rome through the nuncio in Brussels, who was responsible for England (and its colonies). A volume titled "Lettere di Svizzeri, Fiandra e Rezia" would then contain documents relating to North America.[5]

While some volumes contain a table of contents or an index, others do not. There is, however, a three-volume general index to 1657, although it is quite difficult to consult.[6] One must also remember that, notwithstanding its continuous numbering, the series is not complete. Some volumes were lost during the transfer of the archives to Paris, although some of them have since reappeared in Fondo Vienna.

Part Two

Running from vol. 418 to vol. 906 (1668 to 1799), Part Two was referred to in the past as Scritture Corrispondenti agli Atti, as the correspondence between these documents and Acta is very frequent. Documents were filed chronologically according to the sequence of the General Congregations in which they were discussed. Consultation of Part Two of SOCG was (and is) so easy, that volumes have no tables of contents or indices.

From the point of view of chronology, there are a few exceptions (vols. 464, 489, 495-498, 501). Vol. 6[illegible]5 should be in Congregazioni Particolari. Vol. 443 deals with Armenia, vol. 693 with "Indie Orientali Thibet - Ava - Pegù Malabar America," vol. 837 with Lebanon (and the regular sequence of General Congregations). There is a vol. 495a and vol. 495b, a vol. 670 and a vol. 670a.

In theory, original documents received by Propaganda were assembled in SOCG and dealt with in Acta. It is however possible to find no trace in Acta of documents that appear in SOCG and vice versa. Correspondence between SOCG and Acta is on the whole very frequent in the 1669-1799 period, i.e., when the re-organization of SOCG along chronological lines facilitated access to the original material by a simple system of cross-references. For the preceding period, 1622-1667, this correspondence is considerably rarer, since the subdivision of the documents into geographical areas greatly complicates the search for the original documents. It is in any case very difficult to know with precision which original documents were used in a General Congregation. (One must also remember that some original documents were not assembled in SOCG and are to be found in Congressi or other series).

To locate the General Congregation in which a document is discussed, one must look for the original cross-references contained in the document itself, usually on the verso of the last folio of the last document of a dossier. It usually contains the number of the General Congregation, the number of the item in Acta and the date of the General Congregation. In most cases, portions of the said pattern may be missing or wrong. In other cases, cross-references do not correspond to Acta. This might mean that the matter was not reported before the General Congregation, or was reported and no decision made; again, its proceedings might have been assembled with another item, or simply lost. In general, however, by knowing the date of a General Congregation and the item number as shown in Acta, it is easy to locate the original documents.

3. FONDO VIENNA

This is not an original series that stemmed from the administrative work of Propaganda officials. The Fondo Vienna series was created in 1925, when a number of volumes were transferred from Vienna to Rome. They were among others that had been taken to Paris during the French occupation of Rome. Most of them were soon after returned to the Holy See, but some were lost.[7] Since the transfer from Vienna took place when related series had already been progressively numbered, they were left apart as a special series, with volumes numbered from 1 to 74 regardless of the original series to which they had previously belonged.

According to their series of origin, volumes of Fondo Vienna can be divided into sub-series:
- vols. 1-20: SOCG
- vols. 21-24: Congregazioni Particolari
- vols. 25-38: Congressi
- vols. 39-50: Decreti
- vols. 51-55: Collectio Decretorum
- vols. 56-61: Dubia et resolutiones
- vols. 62-70: Registro dei brevi
- vols. 71-74: Varia

Documents of some of the sub-series did not differ from the ones still preserved in their original series of provenance (SOCG, Congregazioni Particolari, Congressi, Decreti). Other sub-series need a few more words of explanation.

- Collectio decretorum. A collection of decrees, decisions and instructions issued by Propaganda that were collected in four tomes by order of Benedict XIV. Vol. 55 is the index to the sub-series.

- Dubia et resolutiones. A collection of cases that were discussed by the Sacred Congregations of the Council, of the Holy Office and of the Rites, in seven tomes. Tome 1 is missing.

- Registro dei brevi. Register of briefs issued between 1701 and 1809, in 12 tomes. Tomes 1, 2 and 4 are missing. Vol. 70 is the alphabetical index to the briefs by countries.

- Varia. Four volumes of miscellaneous origin. This sub-series has the same origin as the series Miscellanee Diverse, Miscellanee Generali and Miscellanee Varie.

4. INFORMAZIONI

This series consists of two different parts. The 14 volumes of the first part (vols. 118, 120, 134-136, 156-158, 162-167) seem to come from the Society of Jesus, and the numbers on their spines probably derive from the original numbering system of some other archives. All volumes of the first part, except for vol. 135 (Ethiopia and South-East Asia) and vol. 136 (various missions), deal with China (i.e,. vols. 118, 120, 134, 156-158, 162-167), and are organized in 12 tomes.

The second part consists of three volumes (numbered I-III), probably sent to Propaganda by Saverio Marini, bishop of Rieti from 1779 to 1813. They contain information and notes on the temporal state of Propaganda from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Documents relating to North America are to be found in vol. 136 only.

5. ISTRUZIONI

This series consists of seven volumes containing drafts, notes and extracts of instructions sent by Propaganda to nuncios, bishops, vicars apostolic and other superiors of the missions. Copies of these drafts may sometimes be found in Lettere. The present collection contains only seven volumes, and it is evident that a number of volumes are missing. The first two volumes, unnumbered, cover the period 1623-1648. Three further volumes are marked 1-3, and two more B and C (vol. A is missing). They contain instructions from the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

Documents of interest to North America are found in vols. 1 and 3 only.

6. MISCELLANEE DIVERSE, MISCELLANEE GENERALI, MISCELLANEE VARIE

The only reason why there are three different series of Miscellanee is that they were once stored on three different sets of shelves in the archives of Propaganda. In fact, there is no difference as to the nature and origin of the documents they contain. The three series consist of 126 volumes in all. They contain documents from a variety of sources, and their contents are not organized according to any particular system. There are documents received by Propaganda, memoranda and notes meant for Propaganda's internal use, minutes of Propaganda's meetings, collections of items relating to a special issue, papers of individuals, travel reports and diaries.

Miscellanee Diverse consists of 37 volumes. There is a vol. 8 and a vol. 8a, a vol. 11A and a vol. 11b. Miscellanee Generali consists of 33 volumes. There is a vol. XVIa and a vol. XVIb. Volumes I, II and XXIV are missing. Miscellanee Varie consists of 56 volumes. There is a vol. I and a vol. Ia; a vol. III and a vol. IIIa; a vol. XI and a vol. XIa; a vol. XIII and a vol. XIIIa; a vol. XIV and a vol. XIVa. Vol. XXXVI is missing.

One must remember that documents contained in the four volumes of the Varia sub-series of Fondo Vienna have the same origin as those of the three series of Miscellanee.

Documents of interest to North America are to be found in vols. 6, 20 and 22 of Miscellanee Diverse; in vol. XIV of Miscellanee Generali; and vols. I, III, VI, XI, XIII, XIVa and XLVII of Miscellanee Varie.

7. UDIENZE

This series, which covers the years 1666-1895, consists of 252 volumes, of which vols. 1-37 cover the years prior to 1800. As we have already seen, from 1622 to 1665 the General Congregations were often held coram Sanctissimo. From 1666 onwards, this custom changed. The secretary of Propaganda (seldom its prefect) was entrusted with the duty of referring to the Pope those matters that needed his approval. These meetings were called "Udienza," and were usually held on pre-arranged and fixed days. The Udienze series derives from the audiences with the Pope.

The organization of Udienze varied over time. At the beginning all items dealt with in the audiences were written in the form of a register. Later, a separate folio was used for each item, and at the end the secretary noted the Pope's decision. Many of the items are original incoming documents that were to be discussed. A dossier was prepared that contained the original documents, a memorandum usually from the secretary of Propaganda, and other material relevant to the case.

Audiences could be held in relationship with items already discussed in General Congregation (in which case original documents are likely to be found in SOCG and the relative proceedings in Acta), or dealt with in a Congresso (in which case original documents may be found in the Congressi series).

A number of registers were compiled for Propaganda's internal use.[8] They are:
- Deputazioni e facoltà ordinarie (1699-1856), 8 vols;
- Facoltà straordinarie (1760-1850), 9 vols.;
- Registro delle udienze (1764-1832), 23 vols.;
- Minute delle udienze (1764-1803), 6 vols.;
- Udienze (1810-1848), 3 vols.

There is also a 28-volume general index to this series that covers the years 1666-1897, besides some more specialized indices for the nineteenth century.[9]

8. DECRETI

This series consists of 13 volumes, probably compiled for Propaganda's internal use. It contains the decrees of the General Congregations (seldom of the Congressi). As such, they do not usually differ from the rescripta that are found in Acta.

Vols. 1-8 contain the decrees of the years 1622-1819, but there is a gap between 1675 and 1791. Vols. 9-11 contain drafts of decrees. Vol. 12 deals with the economy of Propaganda. Vol. 13 deals with Asia.

The Decreti sub-series of Fondo Vienna has the same origin as this series.

9. BREVI E BOLLE

This series consists of 13 volumes, which contain the more solemn pontifical decisions concerning territories administered by Propaganda. Only vol. 1 deals with the period prior to 1800. Vol. 12 is a collection of faculties, and vol. 13 a collection of professiones fidei.

10. CONGREGAZIONI PARTICOLARI

This series, which mainly covers the years 1669-1864, consists of 162 volumes. They contain the proceedings of the meetings of the cardinals of Propaganda that were known as "Congregazione Particolare" (Special Congregation). There is a vol. 34a and a vol. 34b.

For the period 1622-1668, the proceedings of the Special Congregations were dispersed within Acta, their original documents to be found in SOCG. When the archives were re-organized in 1668, a new series, Congregazioni Particolari, was created to contain all papers relating to the proceedings of the Special Congregations. (One may recall that in 1668 a new organization of SOCG was devised, and that from 1669 onwards its documents were filed according to a chronological sequence). In 1864 this series was discontinued. Notwithstanding its chronological limits (1669-1864), Congregazioni Particolari contains occasional documents that pre-date 1669, especially in vols. 1-10.

Vols. 1-10 are arranged according to the matter treated, and are not chronologically defined; they contain documents of miscellaneous origin. Vols. 11-161 contain documents arranged according to their country of origin or to the matter treated, and follow a rough chronological order. While some volumes refer to only one Special Congregation, most contain the proceedings of various Special Congregations.

There are three volumes of indices for vols. 11-161 of Congregazioni Particolari, organized according to locations and matters treated. Of interest for North America until 1799 are vols. 3, 6-7, 20-21, 105, 137 and 145. Vol. 145 is the only one in which its American contents are clearly indicated by its title. Vols. 20 and 137 have "America" in their titles, among other countries and topics. Nothing in the titles of vols. 3, 6-7 and 21 gives any indication of the documents of American interest they contain, yet vol. 3 contains a document relating to the Capuchins in Acadia, vol. 6 has documents of great interest for the history of the Capuchins in Acadia and in the American provinces, vol. 7 preserves a catalogue of the Jesuits in Canada in 1653, and vol. 21 deals with the necessity of sending bishops into foreign lands, among which American territories are mentioned. Vol. 105 assembles papers relating to the division of the world among Propaganda officials; interestingly, North America is never mentioned.

11. LETTERE

The Lettere series contains the copies of letters written by Propaganda officials and sent to their correspondents around the world. As in the case of Acta, Lettere contains no original incoming documents. Propaganda's original letters are now scattered in other archives all over the globe.

The series consists of 278 volumes numbered from 1 to 278 (the last volumes of the eighteenth century). There are 388 volumes in all for the period 1622-1892. At the beginning (1622-1657), most letters were written in Italian or occasionally in French. They were bound together in volumes titled "Lettere volgari" (vols. 2-8, 10-32, 1622-1657). During the same period, some letters were written in Latin. They were bound together in volumes entitled "Lettere latine" (vols. 1 and 9, from 1622 to 1646).

From 1658 to 1669 a new system was tried, and letters were filed according to the country of origin of the matter in question, not according to language (vols. 33-54). From 1670 to 1679 (vols. 55-68) and from 1721 to 1807 (vols. 110-293) Propaganda reverted to a chronological arrangements of its letters. With few exceptions, every year has two volumes, one with letters written by Propaganda's secretary, the other with letters written by the Congregation at large. From time to time, however, letters relating to a single geographical area were again collected and filed in one volume. They deal with Belgium (vol. 253), China (vols. 257 and 272), and the East Indies (vols. 116, 125, 134, 145, 152, 161, 170 and 187).

From 1680 to 1720 (vols. 69-109), letters were still arranged according to their chronological sequence, but a single volume per year included both the Secretary's and Propaganda's correspondence.

In theory, copies of all letters written by Propaganda were kept in Lettere. (Obviously, some letters were not recorded, or their copies have disappeared). Propaganda's procedure was as follows. A document reached Propaganda, and was filed in SOCG, Congregazioni Particolari or Congressi. It was then discussed in a General Congregation, a Special Congregation or in a Congresso. If discussed in a General Congregation, the proceedings were recorded in Acta. If discussed in a Special

Congregation, both the original documents and the proceedings were recorded in Congregazioni Particolari. If discussed in a Congresso, no proceedings were recorded, but in every case a reply was prepared, and the copy of this reply filed in Lettere.

Due to the above procedure, Lettere may be said to provide a key to the understanding of Propaganda and its archives even better than Acta, in that Acta reflects only the documentary material of SOCG, while Lettere reflects SOCG and all other series.

Most letters were written by Propaganda officials under the stimulus of incoming documents that raised questions or simply new interests. In this instance, cross-references with other series (Acta, SOCG, Congressi, Udienze, etc.) are likely to exist. In some cases Propaganda officials took the initiative, and wrote letters that apparently did not spring from matters already under discussion. In this second instance, obviously, no cross-references with other series exist.

Most volumes of Lettere contain an index or summary of contents at the end of the volume itself. Some (vols. 32-39, 41-42, 44-52, 253, 257, 273-278), however, do not. There is also a good index to the letters written between 1750 and 1755.[10]

12. CONGRESSI

The Congressi series contains the original documents received by Propaganda and dealt with in a Congresso. Congressi preserves letters, memoranda, petitions, short notes and documents meant for the Congregation's internal use. They came from individuals, institutions, missionaries, vicars apostolic, bishops, nuncios, cardinals, pontifical agents around the world and secret agents active in foreign lands. As such, they do not differ substantially from the documents in SOCG. The reason why an incoming document was filed under SOCG (and discussed in a General Congregation) or under Congressi (and discussed in a Congresso) depended solely on the importance that the receiver (usually the secretary or the prefect) attached to it. Obviously, documents considered trivial at the time may now be of great historical significance.

Apparently, Congressi was not initiated at the beginnings of Propaganda. Although some sub-series have 1622 as their starting year, most of them seem to start in the middle of the seventeenth century. While the prefect and the secretary met in Congresso before that time, the series is likely to have been officialized only around 1668, when SOCG was reformed and organized chronologically rather than geographically.

All the documents are bound in 1,451 volumes, 129 of which were consulted for the purpose of the *Calendar*. Congressi is divided into two parts and many sub-series. The subdivision into two parts has little practical significance. In general, sub-series of the first part deal with mission territories, while sub-series of the second part deal with the administration of Propaganda or with its institutes (colleges, examinations of missionaries, staff, finances, etc.). This arrangement is rather irregular and cannot be wholly trusted.

Much more important is the division into sub-series, according to the country of origin of the documents or to the subject treated. Within each sub-series, volumes are filed according to a numerical and roughly chronological sequence. Many sub-series are followed by a number of miscellaneous volumes, which contain documents relating to the same geographical area or to the same matter treated in the sub-series, but are usually undated. The volumes of Congressi have no indices or tables of contents.

As a rule, no minutes of the Congressi were recorded. When a reply was prepared, a copy was, however, filed in Lettere. According to this general pattern, documents preserved in Congressi may find corresponding documents only in Lettere. In a number of instances, Propaganda officials scribbled the date of the reply on the incoming document itself, usually on the verso of the second folio. For the purpose of the *Calendar*, the editor was able to trace most of them. In some cases, however, dates proved to be inaccurate; in other cases, replies could not be found (either they were not registered at the time or they 2are now untraceable).

There are exceptions to the pattern described above. Some documents that ended up in Congressi were also discussed in a General Congregation; minutes to these discussions were then recorded in Acta (i.e., they were treated like SOCG documents). Incoming documents relating to the same dossier may have been split: some are now in Congressi, some in SOCG, some in Udienze, etc.

We shall deal in Chapter Six with the methods employed in selecting the sub-series for examination. For the time being, three sub-series of the second part need some additional words explaining their contents.

- Missioni (7 vols. and 26 vols. of "Miscellanee"). This sub-series contains requests for admission by aspiring missionaries, information concerning them, the approval and appointment of missionaries, etc. As the *Calendar* shows, there are many exceptions to the above pattern. A number of volumes in the "Miscellanee" section were not registered when they were received, and were subsequently arranged in rough chronological order.

- Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori (3 vols. and 2 vols. of "Miscellanee"). This sub-series contains material concerning appointments of cardinals of Propaganda, its prefects and secretaries. The list of prefects and secretaries compiled by Metzler[11] is mainly based on this sub-series. It should also be used to determine the terms of office of the various cardinals.

- Ministri (2 vols. and 1 vol. of "Miscellanee"). This sub-series contains material concerning the officials and the staff at large of Propaganda. It mainly deals with the temporal state of the Congregation.

NOTES

1 Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.

2 See Chapter Two

3 For a more detailed discussion of these indices, see Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 24-26.

4 The New Netherlands in Asia were treated as if they were in America (see the many references in the Index under the entry "New Netherlands"). The island of St. Christopher in the West Indies is said to be "near Madagascar," ([Propaganda] to Malachias O'Queely, [Rome], 12 May 1640, Lettere 22), and the marginal note of an 1784 letter dealing with the American convert Thayer is again "Madagascar" (Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili to Leonardo Antonelli, Paris, 15 Nov. 1784, C 317).

5 Carlo Rossetti to [Propaganda], Ghent, 17 Aug. 1641, SOCG 14; Rossetti to [Propaganda], Ghent, 24 Aug. 1641, SOCG 13.

6 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, 29. See also Metzler, "Indici dell'Archivio Storico della S.C. 'de Propaganda Fide'," *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 109-130.

7 For a detailed history of Fondo Vienna, see Nikolaus Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, *Annales* (1963-64), pp. 38-53.

8 These registers were not included in the *Calendar*.

9 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 61-62; Metzler, "Indici."

10 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 65; Metzler, "Indici."

11 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 102-106; Metzler, "Serie dei Cardinali Prefetti e dei Segretari della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, III/2: Freiburg: Herder, 1976, pp. 615-626.

IV. ARCHIVISTS, HISTORIANS, AND THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA

The *Calendar* includes a bibliography that specifies, entry by entry, all documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda that were, in the past, used by archivists or historians in relation to the history of North America in the period 1622-1799. It would now seem helpful to give a general survey of their works.

1. GUIDES AND FINDING AIDS

Except for Carl Russell Fish's *Guide*, which will be dealt with later,[1] the earliest survey of the archives of Propaganda with reference to North America is Peter Keenan Guilday's 1921 article.[2] In this article, which he had been asked to write to celebrate the Congregation's 300th anniversary, Guilday briefly surveyed the history of Propaganda. Somewhat surprised by the fact that the documents preserved at Propaganda had been so little used until then, Guilday went on to briefly discuss the available historical literature on the Roman curia in general and on Propaganda in particular. His outline of the archives of Propaganda is, however, of no value whatsoever. There was nothing in Guilday's article that was not in Fish's then ten-year-old *Guide*.

By contrast, the essay that Conrad Morin published in *Culture* in 1946 is a worthy and sound description of the archives of Propaganda from the Canadian viewpoint, and also has some value for United States historians.[3] Morin briefly describes the state of the Roman archives and the early efforts on the part of the Canadian government to use them. He then mentions Fish's *Guide* and Candide de Nant's *Pages glorieuses*,[4] while suggesting that both works must be approached carefully owing to the discovery of some new documents and the partial re-arrangement of the archives of Propaganda.[5] The core of Morin's essay is devoted to Propaganda[6] and to the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives).[7] In describing the archival series of Propaganda, Morin has chosen a "historical" approach rather than an "archival" one.[8] This was probably the wrong choice. If one wants to put to good use Morin's description, he needs a sort of conversion table that would give an archival and topograhical meaning to Morin's "historical" approach. The last section of Morin's essay deals with what he styles "archives canadiennes de contenu romain," and particularly with Canadian repositories that preserve "copies d'originaux" of Roman provenance.[9]

There is another description of the archives of Propaganda in a collective work, edited by Lajos Pàsztor, devoted to the sources for the history of Latin America preserved in ecclesiastical archives of Italy.[10] This work considers as Latin America not only Spanish and Portuguese territories, but also the French West Indies, or the old French territories that are now part of the United States.[11] The description of Propaganda contained in Pàsztor's *Guide* was authored by Nikolaus Kowalsky, who was the archivist of Propaganda from 1958 to 1966. At first, Kowalsky explains the relationship between Propaganda and Latin America. Then he lists a number of archival series, with indications of where documents of interest for Latin America are likely to be found. (Contrary to Morin, Kowalsky's approach is topographical.) Kowalsky's description and the accompanying bibliography are very short, in tune with the style set by the general editor of the Guide. It is, however, very clear and still useful.[12]

The last guide published to date is René Bélanger's 1974 article.[13] It contains a description of the history and organization of Propaganda, with a short but detailed summary of its major archival series. There is also a short history of the relationship between Propaganda and Canada, and a bibliography. Although Bélanger is particularly interested in the nineteenth century, his article may be profitably consulted in connection with Morin's and Kowalsky's guides. More recently, this writer published a short general survey devoted to the importance of the archives of Propaganda for the history of New France,[14] while John J. McCusker, in an article reviewing the primary sources for the history "of Early British America, mentions the *Calendar* (in preparation) and a number of previous works.[15]

In 1961, Kowalsky published his inventory of the archives of Propaganda.[16] The *Inventario* immediately became the indispensable tool of all historians and archivists working in Propaganda, and yet it soon became evident that a revised version of the first inventory was needed. In 1983 a new inventory was published, compiled by Josef Metzler,[17] archivist of Propaganda from 1966 to 1984, which revises and enlarges Kowalsky's old inventory.[18] The inventory proper is preceded by a short history of the foundation of Propaganda and its purpose, and followed by a short bibliography (somewhat incomplete) and a list of prefects and secretaries of the Congregation.[19]

Kowalsky also published a history of the archives of Propaganda and of their archivists,[20] while his successor, Metzler, published a review of all indices of the documents of Propaganda compiled since 1657.[21]

2. CALENDARS AND INVENTORIES

The first list of documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda was published, without the name of the compiler, in 1910.[22] It is completely drawn from Fish's *Guide*,[23] and, according to the introduction, deals with Canada only. It is a list of documents subdivided into archival series (Acta, SOCG, Congressi, Memoriali, Scripta Varia). They are dated and their contents briefly summarized, but their more precise location is not given. Memoriali and Scripta Varia are not included in the Propaganda material, showing that the compiler was not familiar with the documentary material he listed.[24] The only usefulness of this list, which pre-dates Fish's *Guide*, was to draw the attention of Canadian historians and archival authorities to the importance of the archives of the Holy See. The compiler of the list hoped that Roman documents of Canadian interest would have been copied,[25] but, Morin's assertions notwithstanding,[26] the project never became a reality.

The portion of Ivanhoë Caron's calendar, published between 1939 and 1942, that deals with Propaganda is drawn from the above list.[27] Caron compiled a chronological list (from 1610 to 1729) of manuscripts and printed matter preserved in various repositories, dealing with the Canadian church during the French regime. In the calendar there is no mention of the archives of Propaganda, all Roman documents being designated as "Documents du Vatican." Caron draws from the 1910 list those documents that seem to fit into his new compilation. It is a third-hand work that confuses rather than improves the knowledge of Roman archives in general and of Propaganda in particular. In his introduction,[28] Caron states that copies of the documents contained in his calendar are at the Public (now National) Archives of Canada and at the Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec.

We now must go back to 1911 and examine in some detail Fish's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Archives*.[29] Being both a guide and calendar cited by all historians and archivists, Fish's work has until very recently been the only good finding aid for the history of North America. In many respects, it is still the only work available. Fish worked in Italy from September 1908 to the end of August 1909,[30] and did a prodigious amount of research for such a short stay. He visited a great number of archives and libraries all over Italy, which he described in his work,[31] but gave special attention to the archives of Propaganda, which he considered "more important than all others taken together."[32] The title of Fish's *Guide*, probably dictated by J. Franklin Jameson, general editor of the Carnegie Institution series, is somewhat misleading. Fish examined "all general references to America or the Western Indies and all documents of interest for general American history [...] together with everything relating to Cuba and the northern provinces and bishoprics of Mexico, because of their connection with the missions of Florida and the Western States."[33] Fish's aim was to make available "the unprinted sources for the history of the United States and Canada existing in Italy, and particularly at Rome."[34]

In the section of the *Guide* devoted to Propaganda, Fish briefly surveys the history of the Congregation and its jurisdictional problems, then lists the most important archival series, and names those who had already used them in connecion with the history of North America.[35] Each series is then briefly explained, and the documents listed. By and large, for each document he gives the volume number, the initial folio of the document or the item number, and its date. Next, there is a very short summary (one or two lines, seldom three) of the document in question. Fish lists all volumes examined, even though in some of them he had not found any document of interest for his *Guide*. He has examined the following archival series: Acta (pp. 123-147), SOCG (pp. 147-158), Congressi (pp. 158-188), Udienze (p. 189), Cause (p. 189), Memoriali (pp. 189-190), Congregazioni Particolari (pp. 190-192), Miscellanea (pp. 193-194), Scripta Varia (p. 195), Visite e collegi (p. 195) and Museo Etnografico (p. 195).[36]

Fish's *Guide* must, however, be consulted with care. On the one hand, a number of documents have been re-arranged since Fish's time -- the numbering of folios has changed and volumes have been transferred to other series. On the other hand, Fish himself was sometimes not accurate enough. For some documents he gave the folio number, for others the item number, for others still only the date or the summary. There are also a number of typographical errors, although not as many as one usually finds in these kinds of works. Fish did not always have enough time to do his job properly. Often he contented himself with the marginal notes or with the summaries of the documents prepared by the clerks of Propaganda, thus repeating their mistakes, simplifications or confusions.

Other mistakes are Fish's sole responsibility. This will be shown by the following two examples. Under "Acta," he lists a document as "Charles François Bailly de Mefrein deputed coadjutor."[37] Had Fish known Bailly de Messein, he would have inserted, in square brackets, "Messein" as a correction of "Mefrein." And yet the spelling "Mefrein" belongs to an absent-minded copyist, since it appears only in the table of contents of the archival volume, not in the document itself, which reads "Messein." This means that Fish never read the original document, but contented himself with the table of contents. Similarly, again under "Acta," he lists "Leonard Neel (Neale) chosen coadjutor."[38] Fish knew Neale, and corrected the wrong spelling. But the wrong spelling was only in the table of contents of the archival volume and in the rescriptum, the document itself having the right one. Evidently, Fish had not seen the original document, but only the rescriptum or the table of contents. In the SOCG series Fish's errors are more frequent, especially in its first part, once known as Lettere Antiche (vols. 1-417). It is, however, as it has already been pointed out in Chapter Three, the most difficult section of the whole archives of Propaganda. The following is a sample of Fish's list of documents. It is drawn from vol. 141, which deals with the year 1642:

> f. 26. May 14. The provincial of the Capuchins says, among other things, that the ambassador of Constantinople has been declared viceroy of North America.
>
> f. 30. Jan. 20. The Capuchin missionaries of America designate a Capuchin priest as prefect of missions.
>
> f. 31. May 28. The provincial of the Capuchins of France has received the decree for the extension of the missions in America.
>
> f. 45. May 28, 1640. The provincial of the Capuchins of Normandy gives account of the missions of America.

> ff. 51-52. May 26. The provincial of the Capuchins speaks of Canada and Florida, wishing to forestall the Dutch in occupying a place where the natives are docile and one can embark in February.
>
> f. 67. Nov. 7. The above mentioned provincial gives a relation of Canada.
>
> ff. 68, 73. Dec. 8, 1641. Another relation of the same mission by the same provincial.
>
> ff. 69-72. Oct. 8, 1641. The same provincial sends a map of parts of America, made by a priest who lived there three years.
>
> ff. 216-218. Note of fourteen candidates considered for the mission of Maryland, with a relation of Maryland of Nov. 7, 1641.
>
> f. 222. Nov. 12, 1641. Decree of the Sacred Congregation on the expedition of missionaries to Maryland.[39]

The following is the same sample, corrected and revised:[40]

ff. 9, 14. Jan. 24, 1642. The Capuchin provincial of Paris, Honoré de Cunières, gives an account of the missions of Greece, Canada, and England. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 10, 13. Jan, 18, 1642. The Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins, reports on Madagascar, Greece, and Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 24. Jan. 10, 1642. Pacifique writes of his friendship with Christopher of the Holy Trinity. The answer by Propaganda briefly touches upon Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 30, 37. Feb. 15, 1642. Pacifique is soon leaving for Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 38, 41. March 7, 1642. Pacifique has received the decree for the extension of his mission to the whole of North America. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 39-40 (Fish, f. 26). *March* 14 (1642). The *Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins,* says, among other things, that the *French* ambassador in Constantinople, *Count de Marcheville,* has been declared viceroy in North America.

f. 44 (Fish, f. 30). (It deals with the West Indies only.)

ff. 45-46 (Fish, f. 31). *March* 28 (1642). The *Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins,* has received the decree for the extension of *his mission to the whole of North America.*

f. 68 (Fish, f. 45). (It deals with the West Indies only.)

ff. 78-79 (Fish, ff. 51-52). *June 28, 1642. The Capuchin provincial of Paris, Honoré de Cunières, reports on the question of the Capuchin prefecture. Canada mentioned.* (Omitted by Fish).

ff. 105, 116 (Fish, f. 67). Nov. 7, *1641.* The above mentioned prefect gives a relation of Canada.

ff. 106, 115. Feb. 4, 1642. A note by Propaganda on the extension of Pacifique's mission. (Omitted by Fish) *ff. 107, 114* (Fish, ff. 68, 73). Dec. *12*, 1641. Another relation on Canada by the same *prefect.*

ff. 108, 113 (Fish, ff. 69-72). Oct. 17, 1641. The same *prefect* sends a map of *New France*, made by a priest who lived there three years.

ff. 122, 127. Dec. 30, 1641. Christopher of Holy Trinity reports on New France and Pacifique's projects. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 346-351 (Fish, ff. 216-218). *Various items. Letter of Carlo Rossetti, Nuncio in England, to Propaganda, of Sep. 7, 1641.* Notes of fourteen candidates considered for the mission of Maryland. A relation of Maryland, *undated. Notes by Propaganda on the whole dossier.*

ff. 356, 363 (Fish, f. 222). Nov. 12 (1641). Decree of the Sacred Congregation on the expedition of missionaries to Maryland.

Fish's *Guide* is, by modern standards, incomplete and riddled with errors. It has also been superseded, as far as Canada and the United States are concerned, by the present *Calendar* (1622-1799) and by Finbar Kenneally's *United States Documents*.[41] And yet, used with care, it still stands as the only clue to a number of repositories for the history of the continent in general and of nineteenth-century Canada in particular.

By contrast, it is impossible to put to good use Achille Gingras's doctoral dissertation, which should, according to its title, list all documents of Canadian interest in the archives of Paris, Rome and London.[42] In the section devoted to Propaganda (pp. 238-323), he, like Fish, briefly surveys the history of the Congregation and then lists the most important archival series. He immediately falls into two traps. He confuses the series SOCG and Congressi,[43] and assigns 416 volumes,[44] as does Fish,[45] to Memoriali, now (as was the case when Gingras compiled his thesis) part of SOCG and consisting of 36 volumes only (vols. 382-417). These two serious errors are of course repeated throughout the list of documents.

Gingras's calendar differs from Fish's only in that the former employed a chronological approach, while the latter used an archival approach and listed the archival volumes according to the subject treated, noting (in theory) their date, series, volume number and folios. The result, as one can judge from the sample below, is puzzling:

> Relation sur les provinces et couvents des Franciscains, addressée au Cardinal Barberini,
> leur protecteur.
> Mémoire à l'usage des nonces de France pour empêcher les hérétiques de pénétrer au
> Canada (19 janvier 1635).
> État des missions du Canada.
> Scritt. Rif. [i.e., SOCG], ff. 30-60, 109 a 115.[46]

Furthermore, Gingras sometimes omits the date, sometimes the folio or item number, sometimes even the archival series. All this does not happen by chance. Gingras has merely copied Fish's list, leaving out all documents that (on the basis of Fish's summaries only) had no interest for Canadian religious history. When one tries to actually use Gingras's *Répertoire*, it becomes immediately evident that it cannot be used without the help of Fish. Moreover, Gingras employs the old folio numbers that were in use in Fish's time, but that had long been superseded in 1958. Lastly, there is not a single document cited by Gingras that does not already appear in Fish's *Guide*. In practice, what Gingras has done, as far as Propaganda was concerned, is to add his own errors and omissions to Fish's.[47] His *Répertoire* is therefore completely useless.

The most important calendar of the archives of Propaganda relating to the history of the United States is still being published by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Ten volumes have appeared to date, plus an *Index* for vols. 1-7.[48] Although edited by Kenneally, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives* is mostly the work of the archivist Anton Debevec, who single-handedly found, translated, summarized and ordered all documents calendared.[49] Vol. 1 is prefaced by Kenneally, who explains the scope and the aims of the calendar. Then the introduction, by Antonine Tibesar, briefly surveys the history of Propaganda and lists the main archival series of Propaganda, pointing out the major difficulties encountered during the early phase of research. (No other volumes of the First Series have introductions).

The seven volumes of the First Series (1622-c.1865) present 15,347 summaries ("letters") of documents. Each "letter" consists of a serial number, the numbers of the original folios, the number and title of the archival volume containing the document, the document's title or the names of the writer and addressee, the date and place of origin, a short summary of the contents, a list of the persons mentioned, and a note of the language used. The work of locating, reading, translating, ordering and summarizing the documents has been performed with great care.

Nevertheless, some editorial choices are open to criticism. The tables of contents (except those of vols. 1 and 2) are useless. The indexes that conclude each volume, and the general Index to vols. 1-7, are insufficient and sometimes incorrect. A distinction should have been made in the indexes between those documents that were actually written or received by a person, and those in which the person is only mentioned. Anonymous letters (sometimes more important that the signed ones) and letters of the apostolic nuncios are listed only under the names of the persons mentioned (the nuncios, who were all archbishops, signed only by the name of their see, though sometimes adding their Christian name); letters of the nuncios should mention the place of their appointment and their first and family names. The indices could have been expanded to include other items of significance, such as names of religious orders or dioceses. No abbreviations have been used, though there are many recurring words (bishop, archbishop, vicar apostolic, nuncio, procurator general, etc.), with consequent waste of much space. Cross-references are incomplete or non-existent.

Furthermore, on account of its geographical scope (the United States within their modern-day borders), most of the documents dealing with Canada were not included in Kenneally's calendar. As will be shown in Chapter Six, this is misleading. Until well into the second half of the eighteenth century, there was no practical distinction between the French and British territories of North America. Apart from these editorial flaws, this calendar is an important enterprise of great significance for the history of the Catholic church in the United States as well as for American history in general, and completely supersedes Fish's *Guide*. Since this Calendar does not include documents dealing with the area of the United States that from 1622 to 1799 was under Spanish rule, these will be found in Kenneally. On the other hand, Kenneally's *United States Documents* presents only 529 entries relating to French and British North America in the years 1622-1799, compared to the 2,441 entries of the present *Calendar*.

3. STUDIES

I shall now describe a number of works written by historians who have used the archives of Propaganda in relation to North America in the years 1622-1799. Documents published at random and works only occasionally citing documents of Propaganda will not be discussed here, since they do not stem from larger and consistent projects of research.

One must surely begin this survey by recalling the collective work, entitled *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, edited by Metzler, that was published between

1971 and 1979 to honour the Congregation's 350th anniversary.[50] It is a general history of Propaganda, from its origins until today, which consists of three volumes in five tomes containing articles written in various languages. These articles are organized along rough chronological lines, but each deals with a special geographical area or general topic. Six articles deal with North America, two of which are outside the chronological limits of the *Calendar*.[51] In the appendix to vol. III/2, the list of the officials of the Congregation[52] is followed by a number of printed documents from the archives of Propaganda. None of them is of special interest to North America, but they all deal with general problems of the history of missions that can be profitably consulted.[53]

The first North American historian who used the archives of Propaganda was Étienne-Michel Faillon in his *Histoire de la colonie française*.[54] He was particularly interested in the history of the erection of the bishopric of Quebec. Faillon gave special attention to vol. 256 of the SOCG series, whose title "America e Canada" made it an obvious choice.[55] As was common in his day, Faillon took too many liberties with the documents he cited, and his critical apparatus was inconsistent.[56] Faillon had personally consulted the archives of Propaganda when he was in Rome in 1864-1869 to establish the Sulpician procure.[57]

Another important historian of New France, the Jesuit Camille de Rochemonteix, used some documents of Propaganda relating to the early years of Bishop François de Laval in Canada.[58] Rochemonteix, like Faillon, seems to know only vol. 256 of SOCG.

The American Catholic historian John Dawson Gilmary Shea[59] did not personally consult the archives of Propaganda, but had copies made through the archbishop of New York, Michael Corrigan.[60] Shea's use of Propaganda documents is similar to that of Faillon and Rochemonteix -- too many liberties with the documents, inconsistency of the critical apparatus, and failure to properly cite original documents. At any rate, Shea's use of the documents of Propaganda is limited.

Although primarily concerned with the history of the Society of Jesus, the four-volume work by the Jesuit Thomas Aloysius Hughes must be seen as a general history of North America. Hughes's *History* covers the whole continent, including the West Indies but not Canada, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[61] Hughes did not personally consult the archives of Propaganda, but, contrary to Shea, he used Propaganda documents profusely. What he saw were copies preserved at Georgetown University,[62] or copies that were made by his confrère Louis Schmitt.[63] Hughes did not cite or quote documents of Propaganda haphazardly -- they are often of central importance to his narrative. Unfortunately, he also took too many liberties with the documents. The reader is at pains with the inconsistency of his garbled critical apparatus, and confusion is the key-note of both the footnotes and the two documentary volumes. Incidentally, he did not find much room for Propaganda in the two volumes of documents. His monumental *History* is, however, contrary to Faillon, Rochemonteix and Shea, still a useful starting point for any researcher.

If we turn from the category of works dealing with the whole of the history of North America to survey the field of studies devoted to shorter periods, then we must first consider the work of the Franciscan Conrad Morin. Morin laboured for eight years in the Vatican Secret Archives and in other Roman archives, including Propaganda. He was a student at the Università Gregoriana, where he took his doctoral degree in ecclesiastical history, writing a dissertation, discussed in July 1942, devoted to the history of the relationship between Canada and the Holy See.[64] He also published a short guide to the Roman archives,[65] discussed above, and an article on the efforts of the first Secretary of Propaganda, Francesco Ingoli, to erect a bishopric in Canada.[66] He wanted to do much more. His thesis was only the first portion of what was proposed as a three-part study, entitled "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français," whose first volume, "L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la Mission apostolique (1615-1658)," was to take him from the beginnings to the establishment of a vicariate apostolic in Canada. Although he often referred to his work as being at press, not even volume one (his dissertation) was ever published.[67] Furthermore, Morin also proposed a multi-volume work that would contain "ces textes intégralement, avec traduction et notes,"[68] entitled "Les sources de l'Église canadienne aux Archives du Vatican et de la Propagande." This was never published either. The magnitude of Morin's unfortunate project is evident from the list of archival volumes he had apparently consulted, as it appears at the beginning of his dissertation.[69]

Unfortunately, circumstances prevented Morin from even starting what looked like a very promising project. Almost nothing was published. We are, however, left with his thesis, which, to date, is still the most important study dealing with the early relationship between Canada and the Holy See based on Propaganda and Vatican documents. The documents that are published at the end of this thesis are well annotated and scrupulously transcribed.[70]

The Jesuit historian Lucien Campeau knows Morin's works well. He covered the same years studied by Morin in an essay contained in Metzler's *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*[71] and in a book occasioned by the 300th anniversary of the erection of the bishopric of Quebec.[72] The central theme of both essays is the creation and development of the Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Canada.[73] This is probably why Campeau emphasizes out of all proportion the early period (until 1674), to which he devotes 66 pages, as opposed to only two pages for the subsequent period (from 1674 to 1763). Although they were written on different occasions, both the essay and the book use the same documentary material from Propaganda, and must be consulted together.[74]

Laval, and in particular his relationship with the Séminaire de Québec, is also the subject of Marcel Gérin's unpublished 1939 thesis.[75] He used some Propaganda documents of the SOCG and Congressi, America Settentrionale series.

The relationship between Propaganda and the British colonies of America is the focus of two articles by the Jesuit historian Charles Edwards O'Neill,[76] who is also the author of a study on Louisiana that will be discussed later.[77] O'Neill dealt only with those territories that are now part of the United States, and clearly separated the history of the British colonies as such and of Louisiana because of the latter's particular history. Following closely the Acta series of Propaganda, O'Neill devoted the first of the two essays to Maryland (to c. 1760) and Louisiana (to the end of the seventeenth century), and the second to the British colonies in general (from 1750 to 1808) and again to Louisiana (from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1815).

As far as Canada is concerned, the last period of relations with Propaganda is described by Lucien Lemieux in a volume devoted to the first ecclesiastical province of Canada (1783-1844),[78] and in an article that appeared in the collection *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum.*[79] This volume is a work that, particularly with regard to the nineteenth century, appears to be solid and well documented. However, as far as the eighteenth century is concerned, it is limited by an as yet incomplete knowledge of the archives of Propaganda. For example, Lemieux stated that the letters received by Propaganda are kept in the Congressi series, but he neglects the much more important SOCG series, which is never cited or even mentioned in the bibliography.[80] On the other hand, Acta, Lettere and Congressi, America Settentrionale seem to have been used to their fullest extent. The article covers the years 1760-1840.[81] Following the model proposed by Campeau, who had looked at the preceeding period, Lemieux enlarged certain themes within the framework of a detailed account of the relations between Propaganda and the Canadian authorities (holidays, indulgences, loans with interest, etc.), which they discussed during those years.

If we pass from the area of general studies to that of studies devoted to particular times or themes, we must first mention the historiography of the Capuchins. They had a remarkable influence in the first half of the seventeenth century in Acadia, and later in Louisiana. This is a particularly rich and important literature, whose scope reached far beyond a simple history of the order. In his *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini*,[82] which appeared between 1867 and 1909, Rocco da Cesinale was the first to deal with North America on the basis of Propaganda documentation. He clearly divided his work into the pre-Propaganda period (vol. 1), and a later one dealing with the period following the establishment of the Congregation (vols. 2-4). This having been said, we must note that Rocco, even though he had the advantage of living in Rome, did not make a systematic search in the Propaganda archives. He restricted himself to citing documents taken from printed works or those from Acta, which is certainly the easiest series to consult. As well, North America represented a relatively marginal area of interest for Rocco. Out of his four volumes, only about twenty pages are devoted to North America and to the West Indies.[83] However, Rocco's work remains a rather useful reference point for a general understanding of the Capuchin missions.[84]

More or less at the same time, but without knowledge of each other (at least in the beginning), Candide de Nant and John M. Lenhart, both Capuchins, were working on a history of their order in North America in the seventeenth century. The first one to undertake the task was Candide, who in 1903 had been led to the documents of Propaganda by a seventeenth-century report dealing with the Capuchins in Acadia. He was not able to complete his research in the archives of Propaganda until after World War I. In the meantime, he had become aware of the parallel work of Lenhart,[85] and had availed himself of Fish's *Guide*. He had also published a number of articles using some documents of Propaganda.[86]

In his unassuming work, *Pages glorieuses*,[87] Candide made a nevertheless important contribution to historical knowledge not only concerning the Capuchins in Acadia, but also about the general expansion of Catholicism in the New World.[88] It is, in Morin's words, "le premier ouvrage d'histoire canadienne qui soit le fruit d'une véritable utilisation des sources romaines."[89] [See Appendix A for translation.] Candide limited his investigation to the French Capuchins, and according to that interest searched the archives of Propaganda for any pertinent documentation. His documents all come from Acta, and the corresponding documents of SOCG, or again from the volumes of SOCG where the French content is evident. One of the documents on which his work is based is "Brevis ac dilucida,"[90] the starting point of his earlier research, which he had already published separately.[91] But one must be careful of the considerable liberties Candide took in the transcription of the documents. It was not uncommon for him to forget certain words, change their order, or modernize their spelling following inconsistent criteria.[92] We will recall that the numbering of folios has changed since Candide's time, and that the series he calls Lettere is now called SOCG.

Throughout his works,[93] Lenhart's thesis is that Propaganda had already established a jurisdiction over the American territories by creating a prefecture entrusted to the Capuchins, whatever the practical outcome of this may have been. This, according to Lenhart, was accomplished well before the bishop of Debra, Richard Challoner, was given jurisdiction over the British colonies in 1756,[94] and also before the appointment of John Carroll as superior of the missions in the American Provinces in 1784.[95] Lenhart, who knew Candide,[96] Rocco, Fish and Hughes, shows a good knowledge of the archives of Propaganda, even though he seems not to have made any systematic search (having drawn from Acta and SOCG only).[97] The documents he transcribes are very interesting. Unfortunately, the transcription of certain documents is incorrect, because Lenhart was not very familiar with the early history of North America. This ignorance is blatant when one reads his explanatory footnotes.[98]

Another work on the Capuchins is Claude Vogel's book, which we will discuss later.[99] One must also consult an article by Odoric-Marie Jouve, the historian of the Recollets, devoted to François-Joseph Du Tremblay -- better known as Père Joseph or "L'Éminence grise" -- and his activities relating to New France during the years 1632-33.[100] In this article, the attitude of Propaganda is briefly described, although Jouve did not base it upon Propaganda documents, except for very few instances.

Jouve's article can therefore serve as a useful complement to Candide's *Pages glorieuses*, of which Jouve in fact made abundant use.

On the subject of the Capuchins we should also remember Pacifique de Provins (René de L'Escale, 1588-1648), who, even though he never set foot in North America, was for many years prefect of the Capuchin missions in Canada (i.e., Acadia), and continued to consider himself as such even when he was in the West Indies. The continual relationship between Pacifique and Propaganda is already well known, although the relative documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda were used by Candide only. Partially, this documentation was also used by Godefroy de Paris,[101] for whom, however, Pacifique's American life represented merely the end of his missionary career.

By contrast, on the Franciscan Recollets and their relationship with Propaganda we have almost nothing. Besides Jouve's opera omnia (drawn almost exclusively from the Vatican Secret Archives), we can only mention Lenhart's article on the reasons for keeping the Recollets out of Canada in 1632. The Capuchin historian laid the blame on François-Joseph Du Tremblay.[102] With regard to the Jesuits, we have already mentioned Rochemonteix, Hughes and Campeau. Campeau wrote of his Order with particular competence and unusual depth.[103] We shall deal later with Jean Delanglez and his book on the Jesuits in Louisiana.[104]

The Discalced Carmelites did not have a mission in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was a member of their order, the Englishman Simon Stock (Thomas Doughty, 1574-1652), who provided Propaganda with the earliest information on the colonization of Newfoundland, the Northwest passage and the Puritan exodus to New England. Hughes and Lenhart mentioned Stock and some of his letters. In 1925, August Schmidlin, in a very short and vague article, examined a project for missionary expansion in Asia using the hypothetical Northwest passage.[105] Recently Raymond J. Lahey, using some of the more interesting letters that Stock has sent to Propaganda, dealt very competently with the relations between Stock and George Calvert, Baron Baltimore, regarding the Avalon settlement in Newfoundland.[106] Some of that material was also used by John D. Krugler.[107] The whole story of Stock's friendship with Lord Baltimore and the Avalon colony was recently dealt with by this writer.[108]

Louisiana formally depended for a long time on the religious authorities of Quebec. O'Neill dealt in detail with its history and its relations with Propaganda both in the two above-mentioned essays and in a book covering the history of Louisiana from its beginnings until 1732.[109] His book shows that the interests of the French government did not always coincide with those of Catholic expansion in the New World. Capuchins and Jesuits have been studied by Claude Vogel[110] and Delanglez.[111] Unlike O'Neill, neither of these personally consulted the archives of Propaganda, but both had copies of Propaganda documents made.[112] Incidentally, Vogel was the first historian to use the modern numbering system of the folios of the documents of Propaganda, later adopted by the vast majority of scholars.

The writings on the period 1754-1784 deserve special attention owing to the importance of these years for the history of the United States and Canada, as well as for the early history of the American Catholic church. This writer has used material from Propaganda for an essay covering the period from the English conquest of Canada to the War of American Independence.[113] It deals as much with Canadian political transformations as with those in the former British continental colonies. Isabella Bandini and Isabella Santini completed two dissertations in 1984 that examine in depth the role of two vicars general of the bishop of Quebec in Paris, Pierre de la Rue, Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, and François Sorbier de Villars.[114] Both had a long and very interesting correspondence with Propaganda.

What have most interested American historians are the facts relating to the birth (or rebirth, according to Lenhart) of the American Catholic hierarchy. Fish was the first scholar to make available the documents preserved in Propaganda relating to Carroll's appointment as superior of the missions in the United Provinces and then as the first bishop of Baltimore. In 1910 he published a series of 34 documents in their original language, drawn from different series (Acta, Lettere, Congressi, Instruzioni, Decreti), covering the years 1783-1789.[115] Although partially used by Shea,[116] these documents were almost entirely unpublished and unknown. As always, the transcription leaves much to be desired.[117] On account of their interest, Fish's documents were almost immediately translated into English by the Jesuit Edward I. Devitt.[118] In a brief introduction to the documents, Devitt describes Fish's work and the copies of the documents of Propaganda that Shea had left with the archives of Georgetown University.[119]

Guilday used the Georgetown University copies some years later to write an article on the years 1783-1785 and Carroll's appointment.[120] This was useful summary of facts already known, but no new sources were introduced. Two years later, Guilday published a complete biography of Carroll.[121] Although he used the documents of Propaganda again, and this time more abundantly, Guilday had still not consulted the archives of the Congregation directly, but had some additional copies made for his own use.[122]

Thomas O'Brien Hanley recently edited all of Carroll's papers.[123] Although many of the published documents come from the archives of Propaganda,[124] which is only one of the many archives consulted, it does not seem that a systematic search was carried out. Carroll's letters were drawn exclusively from Congressi. The SOCG series, which is equally important for its references to Carroll, was not at all mentioned, even though several documents appearing in that series were published via copies kept in other American archives. Therefore most of Carroll's letters that are in the present *Calendar* or in Kenneally's *United States Documents* are not in the Carroll papers. In addition, the editor has chosen merely to indicate the names of the archives consulted at the bottom of each document, omitting all data regarding archival series or folio numbers. This makes the process of finding specific information on any original document very difficult.[125]

In conclusion, one can say that, except for a few cases, the history of the relationship between Propaganda and North America has yet to be written. The principal exception is Morin's work, which was unfortunately never published. Other notable exceptions are the articles written by Campeau, Lemieux and O'Neill, which stemmed from Metzler's *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, and this writer's *Coldest Harbour*. Several questions therefore remain unanswered. How did the officials of Propaganda see the New World? Did their attitudes change over time? How did these attitudes influence their periodical decisions vis-à-vis North America? What influence and what authority did they have over missionaries, vicars apostolic and bishops operating in America? What place did North America have in the overall policies of Propaganda? What was the power of the Congregation in the context of the Holy See's general policies of missionary expansion? Is it possible to determine in what way the history of French and British North America was influenced by the decisions made in Rome in the offices of Propaganda or of the Holy See in general? The historian who can provide answers to these questions will shed new light on some important points regarding the development of North American history in the colonial period.

NOTES

1 Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1911.

2 Peter Keenan Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1622-1922)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 4 (January 1921), pp. 478-494.

3 Conrad Morin, "Les archives du Saint-Siège, importantes sources de l'histoire politico-religieuse du Canada," *Culture*, VII, 2 (June 1946), pp. 151-176.

4 Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission Capucine en Acadie*, Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1927.

5 This is true not only in the cases of Fish and Morin, but also for all historians and archivists who used the archives of Propaganda before the 1930s.

6 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," pp. 156-161.

7 Id., pp. 161-170.

8 In Morin's words: "[C]'est le point de vue historique et non le point de vue archivistique (ou topographique) qui a inspiré le classement ci-dessous; en d'autres termes, dans le but de faciliter les recherches méthodiques, les collections ont été groupées par ordre d'appartenance de matières et non pas de fonds." [See Appendix A for translation] (id., pp. 155-156).

9 Id., pp. 170-176.

10 Nikolaus Kowalsky, "L'Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide," in Lajos Pàsztor, ed., *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia*, Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1970, pp. 328-338.

11 Id., p. vi.

12 See also Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, XXV, 1 (gennaio-aprile 1965), pp. 37-44.

13 René Bélanger, "Les archives historiques de la Propagande à Rome," *Archives*, LXXIV, 1 (1974), pp. 8-14.

14 Luca Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti dell'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide', 1622-1799. Una introduzione," in Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Storia e storiografia canadese*, Venice, Marsilio. 1979, pp. 33-45.

15 John J. McCusker, "New Guides to Primary Sources on the History of Early British America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XLI, 2 (April 1984), pp. 277-295.

16 Kowalsky, "Inventario dell'archivo [sic] storico della S. Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/ Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*, XVII, 1 (1961), pp. 9-23; 2 (1961), pp. 109-117; 3 (1961), pp. 191-200.

17 Although signed "Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler," the new inventory was compiled by Metzler only.

18 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.

19 Kowalsky had published a similar list in 1962, which was revised by Metzler in 1976. The latter added the list of the Prefects for the Economy and of the Secretaries for Oriental Affairs. See Kowalsky, *Serie dei cardinali prefetti e dei segretari della Sacra Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide,"* Rome: Editiones Urbaniana, 1962; Metzler, "Serie dei Cardinali Prefetti e dei Segretari della Sacra Congregazione," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, III/2: *1815-1972*, Freiburg, Herder, 1976, pp. 615-626. The new list is in Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 102-106.

20 Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, *Annales* (1963-1964), pp. 38-53.

21 Metzler, "Indici dell'archivio storico della S.C. 'de Propaganda Fide,'" *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 109-130.

22 "Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes," *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada* (1910), pp. 106-115. The list includes documents from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library), the archives of Propaganda and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives).

23 Fish, *Guide*.

24 Fish includes both Memoriali and Scripta Varia in the Propaganda material (Fish, *Guide*, pp. 189-190, 195). Memoriali is now part of the SOCG series, while the documents listed by Fish as Scripta Varia are, in fact, in vol. 22 of the series Miscellanee Diverse.

25 "Documents relatifs au Canada," p. 106.

26 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 154.

27 Ivanhoë Caron, "Inventaire des documents concernant l'Église du Canada sous le régime français," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1939-1940), pp. 155-353; (1940-1941), pp. 333-473; (1941-1942), pp. 178-298.

28 Caron states: "Une autre source de renseignement [...] est indiquée dans le *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada*, pour l'année 1910 (p. 106), sous le titre 'Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes.' Nous ne donnons qu'un sommaire de ces pièces écrites en langue italienne, mais le département des Archives Publiques du Canada, à Ottawa, en renferme de belles copies. On en trouve aussi quelques-unes aux archives de l'archevêché de Québec. Elles sont indiquées sous le titre 'Documents du Vatican" [See Appendix A for translation.] [1939-1940], p. 155).

29 Fish, *Guide*.

30 Id., p. iii.

31 Fish mostly worked in the archives of Rome, but also visited Naples, Venice, Turin and Florence.

32 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 121-122.

33 Id., p. 1.

34 Ibidem.

35 Fish also names Thomas J. Shahan, but this last seems not to have known the archives first hand, but only the portions of the various bullarii relating to Propaganda. See Thomas J. Shahan, "L'histoire de l'Église catholique aux États-Unis," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1 (1900), pp. 678-689.

36 See note 24 for Memoriali and Scripta Varia. Fish's Miscellanee consists of documents of the series Congressi Missioni Miscellanee, Congressi America Centrale Miscellanee, Miscellanee Diverse, and Miscellanee Varie. Fish's Visite e Collegi consists of Congressi documents. The Museo Etnografico is no longer housed in the palace of Propaganda.

37 This is the full citation: "Acta, 1788, f. 316, no. 1, Sept, 10. Father Charles François Bailly de Mefrein deputed coadjutor of the bishop of Quebec" (Fish, *Guide*, p. 141).

38 This is the full citation: "Acta, 1795, f. 8 Mar. 23. D. Leonard Neele (Neale) chosen coadjutor of the Bishop of Baltimore" (id., p. 143).

39 Id., p. 151.

40 In revising the above sample, the editor has followed Fish's criteria, without challenging the quality of the summary itself. The documents omitted by Fish have been added, his errors corrected (corrections are in italics), and documents that do not in fact pertain to North America are only mentioned.

41 Finbar Kenneally, ed., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives. A Calendar. First Series*, vols. 1-7 and *Index* to vols. 1-7, Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-1981.

42 Achille Gingras (Guy Laviolette), "Répertoire des sources manuscrites de l'histoire religieuse canadienne en Europe surtout à Paris, à Rome et à Londres: 1608 a 1860," unpublished thesis, Institut Catholique de Paris (1958-1959).

43 Id. p. 240.

44 Ibidem.

45 Fish, *Guide*, p. 189.

46 Gingras, "Répertoire," p. 242.

47 This happens at least 21 times for the period 1622-1799 alone. The list below shows all Gingras's errors that derive directly from Fish:

1 p. 241, line 14: "17 nov." instead of "11 nov."
2 p. 242, line 12: "Le P.V." instead of "Le P. Hyacinthe."
3 p. 242, line 34: "ff. [...] 359" instead of "ff. [...] 269."

4 p. 243, line 21: "trois Capucins" instead of "quatre Capucins."
5 p. 243, line 29: "f. 36" instead of "f. 367."
6 p. 244, line 37: "13 mars 1645" instead of "13 mars 1646".
7 p. 244, line 39: "27 avril 1645" instead of "27 avril 1646."
8 p. 244, line 43: "25 octobre 1645" instead of "20 septembre 1645 et 25 octobre 1646."
9 p. 245, line 22: "10 déc. 1647" instead of "17 déc. 1647."
10 p. 245, line 29: "lettre du nonce" instead of "lettre de Pacifique de Provins."
11 p. 247, line 1: 26 mai 1659" instead of "26 mai 1661."
12 p. 247, line 7: "13 juin 1660" instead of "13 janv. 1660."
13 p. 247, line 31: "4 fév. 1664" instead of "30 juin 1664." ("4 fév. 1664" is the date of the preceding item in Fish's list).
14 p. 249, line 10: "No. 28" instead of "No. 25."
15 p. 250, line 2: "4 mars" instead of "4 fév."
16 p. 250, line 32: "Récollets de Saint-Domingue" instead of "Récollets de Saint-Denis."
17 p. 255, line 20: "3 mars 1765" instead of "3 mars 1766." (Fish had dated the Acta volume 1765; the year was in fact 1766).
18 p. 255, line 23: "f. 96" instead of "ff. 93-96."
19 p. 258, line 21: "fol. 115" instead of "fol. 114."
20 p. 260, line 3: "fol. 55" instead of "ff. 50-75."
21 p. 260, line 30: "fol. 224" instead of "ff. 223-225."

48 See note 41. Vols. 8-10 are edited by Anton Debevec, Mathias C. Kiemen and Alexander Wyse. They were published in 1980-1983 and form the second series of the calendar.

49 See this author's early reviews of Kenneally's *United States Documents* in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXXVII, 3 (settembre 1976), pp. 599-605, and in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXXV, 2 (April 1978), pp. 419-420.

50 Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971-1976, 3 vols. There is also a summary in Italian of the entire work, entitled *Compendio di storia della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o "de Propaganda Fide," 1622-1972*, Rome: Pontificia Università Urbaniana, 1974.

51 They are Charles Edwards O'Neill, "North American Beginnings in Maryland and Louisiana," in id., I/2, pp. 713-726; Lucien Campeau, "Les initiatives de la S. Congrégation en faveur de la Nouvelle-France," in id., pp. 727-795; O'Neill, "The United States of America," in id., II, pp. 1162-1184; Lucien Lemieux, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. A. La Congrégation de la Propagande, modératrice et promotrice d'une Église canadienne en expansion (1760-1840)," in id., III/1, pp. 729-748. These three articles will be discussed later. The two outside the chronological limits of the *Calendar* are Willi Henkel, "The Final Stage of USA Church's Development under Propaganda Fide," in id., pp. 705-728; Alexander Baran, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. B. Further Development after 1840," in id., pp. 749-757.

52 See note 19.

53 Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, III/2: *1815-1972*, pp. 653-840.

54 [Étienne-Michel Faillon], *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, Villemarie: Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865-1866, 3 vols. Only vols. 2 and 3 mention Propaganda documents. The *Histoire* was to consist of 10 volumes, but only the first three were published, to cover the years 1532-

1675. See Olivier Maurault, "M. Étienne-Michel Faillon (1800-1870)," *Les Cahiers des dix*, 24 (1959), p. 157.

55 Almost all documents cited by Faillon are taken from vol. 256 of the SOCG series. The volume has "America e Canada" on its spine, and the number "3" in the frontispiece. Other documents cited come from Acta, vol. 27, dealing with the year 1658 (Faillon, *Histoire*, II, pp. 322, 327-328), and from Congressi, America Settentrionale, wrongly cited as "Scritture riferite nei Congregazione" (id., III, p. 170).

56 Vol. 256 of SOCG, for example, is normally cited as "vol. America. 3. Canada. 256," but also as "Vol. America. 3. Canada," "156," "255" and "356" (id., II, p. 376; III, pp. 186, 356, 371).

57 See Maurault, "Faillon," pp. 152, 157. See also the documents of Propaganda published by Morin relating to Faillon's Roman years, Morin, ed., "Éclaircissements inédits de Faillon sur son *Histoire de la colonie française*," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, V, 4 (March 1952), pp. 585-588.

58 Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle d'après beaucoup de documents inédits*, Paris: Letouzey, 1895-1896, 3 vols.

59 John Dawson Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days. The Thirteen Colonies. The Ottawa and the Illinois country. Louisiana. Florida. Texas. New Mexico and Arizona, 1521-1763*, New York: Edward Jenkins' Sons. 1866; Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore, Embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States. 1763-1815*, New York: Edward Jenkins' Sons, 1888.

60 Shea, *Catholic Church*, p. iv. According to Edward I. Devitt, the copies are now in the archives of Georgetown University, in Washington: "Dr. Shea's MSS. in Georgetown University contain a voluminous collection entitled 'Propaganda Transcripts,' which include nearly all of these documents, many of which were translated and published in full by him" (Edward I. Devitt, ed., "Propaganda Documents. Appointment of the First Bishop of Baltimore," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXI, 4 [December 1910], p. 186). This writer has not personally checked that collection.

61 Thomas Aloysius Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal. Text and Documents*, London: Longmans, Green, 1907-1917, 4 vols. Except for Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda de Fide Memoria Rerum*, there is no other work mentioned in this survey that deals with so long a period.

62 See note 60.

63 Hughes, *History*, p. 20.

64 Morin, "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français d'après les archives romaines. L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la mission apostolique (1615-1658)," unpublished thesis, Pontificia Università Gregoriana (1982).

65 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège."

66 Morin, "Les tentatives du secrétaire François Ingoli pour l'érection d'un évêché au Canada (1631-1641)," Causerie donnée lors du douzième congrès annuel de la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique (Toronto, September 1945).

67 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 155; Morin, "Tentatives," p. 16; Morin, *Saint-Siège*, p. 10.

68 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 156.

69 Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato were puzzled by the complete lack of consistency in Morin's list of volumes allegedly consulted in the Vatican Secret Archives. See Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato, "The Flesh Made Word: The Vatican Archives and the Study of Canadian History," *Archivaria*, 20 (summer 1985), pp.67-78. As far as Propaganda is concerned, there is only one perplexity: Why the gap in the Acta series between vols. 106 and 127?

70 Morin, "Saint-Siège," pp. 229-262. A good number are Propaganda documents.

71 Campeau, "Initiatives."

72 Campeau, *L'Évêché de Québec (1674). Aux origines du premier diocèse érigé en Amérique du Nord*, Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1974.

73 See also Campeau, "La juridiction ecclésiastique en Nouvelle-France avant Mgr de Laval," La Société Canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, *Sessions d'étude* (1972), pp. 91-108. This article was subsequently revised as Campeau, "Initiatives."

74 The following are some typographical errors identical in both Campeau's "Initiatives" and *Évêché*:
- Acta, vol. 7/II, f. 11v, recte 10v ("Initiatives," p. 744; *Évêché*, p. 24).
- SOCG, vol. 74, f. 116, recte f. 196 ("Initiatives," pp. 739, 751; *Évêché*, pp. 18, 33).
- The General Congregation that discussed what was related in SOCG, vol. 74, f. 196, is not dated 16 May 1633, but 31 May 1632 ("Initiatives," p. 739; *Évêché*, p. 18).

75 Marcel Gérin, "Les grandes étapes de l'oeuvre missionnaire des évêques canadiens. Quebec (1663). Nicolet (1803). Pont-Viau (1921). Monseigneur de Laval et le Séminaire des missions étrangères de Québec," unpublished thesis, Institut Scientifique de la Propagande (1939).

76 O'Neill, "North American Beginnings"; O'Neill, "United States."

77 O'Neill, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana. Policy and Politics to 1732*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Due to the far greater importance of the local and French archives for the history of Louisiana, in this book the documents of Propaganda are not much used.

78 Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada 1783-1844*, Montreal: Fides, 1968.

79 Lemieux, "Provision."

80 Lemieux, *Établissement*, p. xviii. Curiously, the SOCG series is also omitted from the bibliography that precedes Lemieux, "Provision."

81 The only gap in the history of Canada left by Campeau and Lemieux is, then, the period 1674-1763.

82 Rocco da Cesinale, *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini*, Paris: P. Lethielleux - Rome: Tipografia Barbera, 1867-1909, 3 vols.; vol. 4 published as "Historia Ordinis fr. Minorum Capuccinorum,"

Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum, XXIV (1908) pp. 43-45, 79-86, 121-125, 187-192, 282-287; XXV (1909), pp. 67-71, 240-246, 293-295.

83 Rocco, *Storia delle missioni*, III, pp. 673-693 (a chapter devoted to French America that also touches upon Maryland, the West Indies and Canada).

84 See, for example, id., II, pp. 317-397 (a chapter on France).

85 "Tout récemment [1916-1917] le P. John Lenhart a publié en anglais [...] un travail qui est exactement sur le plan de celui-ci. Il a consulté a peu près toutes les sources imprimées de quelque importance et une partie des archives de la Propagande jusque-là inédites. C'est une très bonne étude où nous retrouvons avec plaisir la plupart de nos conclusions" [See Appendix A for translation.] (Candide, *Pages glorieuses*, p. viii).

86 [Candide de Nant], "Letter of Father Ignace re Acadia (According to a photographic copy of the original in the archives of the Propaganda, Rome)," *Report concerning Canadian Archives* (1904), Appendix H. pp. 331-341; Candide de Nant, "Port-Royal en 1650", *Nouvelle-France*, V, 7 (July 1906), pp. 330-339; Candide de Nant, "Silhouettes de missionnaires. I. Le père Léonard de Chartres," *Nouvelle France*, X, 7 (July 1911), pp. 316-323.

87 See note 4.

88 Candide, *Pages glorieuses*, pp. 83-311.

89 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 154.

90 Ignace de Paris to Propaganda, [1656], SOCG 261.

91 [Candide], "Letter of Father Ignace," The same document is in Candide, *Pages glorieuses*, pp. 305-311.

92 The following is one of the worst examples. P. 202, note 3, reads as follows:

"Tandem aliquando post longam satis et fastidiosam nimis expectationem advenit ad nos P. Archangelus de Fossé qui novos ordines a S.C. editos pro continuandis missionibus detulit. Video cum gaudio me obtinuisse quae instanter petieram omnimoda inquam absolutionem a prefectura missionum transmissa PP. Provincialibus et ideo muneris mei esse existimavi... gratias agere.

"Quoad alia, ac praecipue quoad P. Archangelum adjunctum P. provinciali plura dicenda occurrunt sed parco memor causae, memor temporum dicam tantum praeter intentionem et expectationem nostram hoc factum ... et nescio qumodo S. Cni in mentem venerit illud statuere et P. Archangelo illud acceptare. Deprecor Altissimum ut omnia dirigantur in spe contra spem." [See Appendix A for translation.] Arch. Prop. Lett. Ant., 26 janvier 1640, vol. 139, f. 48".

What follows is the same text in its original form:

"Tandem aliquando post longam satis et fastidiosam nimis expectationem advenit ad nos P. Archangelus de Fossé, qui novos ordines a Sacra Congregatione editos pro continuandis missionibus ad nos detulit, per quos (inter alia) et prout sonant vestrae ad me directae litterae video cum gaudio me obtinuisse, quae instanter petieram, omnimodam inquam absolutionem a praefectura missionum transmissa patribus provincialibus provinciarum, et ideo muneris mei esse existimavi (alias sceleris merito argueret ut ingratus) gratias agere sicut per praesentes ago et Sacrae Congregationi, et vobis.

"Quoad alia a Sacra Congregatione ordinata et decreta, ac praecipue quoad patrem Archangelum adiunctum patri provinciali provinciae parisiensis in administranda praefectura missionum et non aliis provinciis plura dicenda occurrunt, sed parco memor causae, memor temporum, dicam tantum praeter intentionem et expectationem nostram hoc factum esse, et nescio quomodo Sacrae Congregationi in mentem venerit illud statuere et patri Archangelo illud ipsum quantumcumque oblatum acceptare. Quantum ad me attinet deprecor Altissimum ut omnia ad maiorem Sui gloriam dirigantur in spe contra spem." [See Appendix A for translation.] (Léonard de La Tour to Francesco Ingoli, Paris, 26 Jan. 1640, Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," SOCG, vol. 139, f. 80r)."

93 John M. Lenhart, "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655)," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXVII, 3 (September 1916), pp. 191-229; 4 (December 1916), pp. 300-327; XXVIII, 1 (March 1917), pp. 47-63; 2 (June 1917), p. 184; Lenhart, "An Important Chapter in American Church History (1625-1650)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII, 4 (January 1929), pp. 500-524; Lenhart, "The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656)," *Franciscan Studies*, new ser., III, 1 (March 1943), pp. 21-46; 2 (June 1943), pp. 180-195; 3 (September 1943), pp. 306-313. The first of these three articles uses Propaganda material via Rocco, *Storia delle missioni*. The second and the third articles draw from the same documents, consulted in the archives of Propaganda, which are translated into English in "Important Chapter" and left in the original language in "Capuchin Prefecture."

94 See Luca Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti dell'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' (1754-1784)," in Giorgio Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1976, pp. 128-129.

95 See id., p. 140.

96 Lenhart's definition of *Pages glorieuses* is "[a] standard work" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 44).

97 He had only one citation from Congressi, America Centrale (Lenhart, "Important Chapter," p. 506).

98 According to Lenhart, Simon Stock, in his letter of 22 April 1626, wrote that he had "only the means to reach Genoa" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," pp. 23, 181). The original, however, reads: "[D]ove es più persecutione che qua et difficultà di fare frutto non può andare, si non a Geneva, et andero là, si mi darranno li mezzi necessarii per fare frutto" [See Appendix A for translation.] (Simon Stock to [Propaganda], London, 22 Apr. 1626, SOCG 28). The town where Stock wanted to go was then Geneva, the cradle of Calvinism, and not Genoa, which does not make any sense at all. Furthermore, according to Lenhart George Calvert went to Newfoundland in 1625 and from the island sent back a report (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 24). But Lord Baltimore went to his colony in Avalon in 1627 for the first time, and the 1625 report had been written by his governor, Sir Arthur Aston (Stock to [Propaganda], Chelsea, 30 Oct. 1625, SOCG 32). In another document, Lenhart read a strange "Hulzi" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 192). He should have read "nu. 31" -- a cross reference with item no. 31 of the General Congregation of 12 January 1629 (Stock to [Propaganda], London, 28 July 1628, SOCG 48). Inaccuracies and errors of this kind are unfortunately quite common.

99 Claude Vogel, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

100 Odoric-Marie Jouve, "Le Père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay, Capucin, et les missions de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1633)," *Revue d'histoire des Missions. Études missionnaires*, XVI, 2 (juin 1939), pp. 209-232. The same article was published in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XLV, 5 (May 1939), pp. 129-143; 6 (June 1939), pp. 164-177.

101 Godefroy de Paris, "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du Père Pacifique de Provins," *Études franciscaines*, XLV (1933), pp. 348-357, 439-455, 569-586; XLVI (1934), pp. 194-217, 469-491; Godefroy, "Un grand missionnaire oublié. Le P. Pacifique de Provins, capucin," *Collectanea Franciscana*, IV (1934), pp. 363-380, 522-545; V (1935), pp. 213-240, 571-591; Pacifique de Provins, *Le voyage de Perse et Brève relation du voyage de l'Amérique*, ed. by Godefroy de Paris and Hilaire de Wingene, Assisi: Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi dei Fr. Minori Cappuccini, 1939.

102 Lenhart, "Who kept the Franciscan Recollets out of Canada in 1632?", *Franciscan Studies*, new ser., V, 3 (September 1945), pp. 277-300 (partially based on Propaganda documents).

103 Campeau is editing the *Monumenta Novae Franciae* for the Society of Jesus. In the two volumes appeared to date, the difficult relationship between the Jesuits and Propaganda is touched upon. See Campeau, ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, I: *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)*, 1967; II: *Établissement à Québec (1616-1634)*, 1979, both printed in Rome: Monumenta Hist. Soc. Jesu, and Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval. Two documents from Acta (II, pp. 87, 279) and one from SOCG (II, p. 89).

104 Jean Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

105 August Schmidlin, "Projekt eines Nordamerik. Missionswegs nach China in der Frühzeit der Propaganda (ver 300 Jahren)," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, XV, 3 (1925), pp. 147-149.

106 Raymond J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXXII, 4 (Winter 1974), pp. 492-451; Lahey, "Avalon: Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland," in G.M. Story, ed., *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada. Selected Papers*, St. John's, Nfld.: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982, pp. 115-137.

107 John D. Krugler, "'With promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland 1634-1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXXIX, 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 21-43.

108 Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988 (1st Italian ed., 1982). See also "Notizie dal Nuovo Mondo. Propaganda Fide e il Nord America, 1622-1630," in Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1983, pp. 32-44. A thesis on Stock's activities relating to North America was also defended at the Università di Pisa (Antonella Signorini, "Un carmelitano scalzo e l'America, 1623-1636. Una selezione dalle lettere di Simon Stock, nell' archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa [1980]).

109 O'Neill, "North American Beginnings"; O'Neill, "United States"; O'Neill, *Church and State*.

110 Vogel, *Capuchins in French Louisiana*.

111 Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana.*

112 Vogel by his confrère Antonine Wilmer (Vogel, *Capuchins in French Louisiana*, pp. xi-xii), Delanglez by the Jesuit E. Mattern (Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, p. iv).

113 Codignola, "America del Nord."

114 Isabella Bandini, "François Sorbier de Villars (1720-1788). Il suo ruolo di intermediario tra la chiesa canadese e Roma, e le sue lettere conservate nell'archivio di Propaganda," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1984); Isabella Santini, "Le relazioni tra il Canada e la Santa Sede nella corrispondenza di Pierre de La Rue, abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, vicario generale della diocesi di Quebec (1760-1776)," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1984).

115 Fish, ed., "Documents Relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence, 1783-1789," *American Historical Review*, XV, 5 (July 1910), pp. 800-829.

116 Shea, *Life and Times of Carroll*, pp. 204-248.

117 Fish warns the reader: "The typewritten copies of most of these letters reached me after leaving Rome, and I was consequently unable to collate them with the originals, and I have refrained from making any change save in one or two cases where it was obvious that the wrong letter had been struck." (Fish, ed., "Documents," p. 801).

118 Devitt, ed., "Propaganda Documents," pp. 185-236.

119 Id., p. 186.

120 Guilday, "Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic (1783-1785)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 2 (July 1920), pp. 204-248.

121 Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922.

122 Id., p. 837.

123 Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976, 3 vols.

124 See id., I, pp. 68, 182, 267, 280, 287, 326, 449, 468, 470; II, pp. 118, 256, 260, 265, 273, 277, 284, 288.

125 Microfilms of the documents edited by Hanley are preserved at the Catholic University of America in Washington (id., I, p. xxxi).

V. OTHER ROMAN ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

Until now, I have dealt specifically with the archives of Propaganda. Yet, as everybody knows, they are not the only Roman archives nor the only ones in which documents of interest for North America in the years 1622-1799 could be found. The extensive investigations in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives) and in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (as we shall see later), coupled with the findings of the *Calendar*, have already discovered hundreds of documents, most of them unavailable elsewhere and therefore unknown to historians, that are of great significance for the history of North America as a whole. David Beers Quinn, the foremost authority on sixteenth-century British America, stated that the Roman archives have been far less exploited by historians than those of London, Paris and Seville. According to Quinn, "The major additions to be made will come from Rome, from the Jesuit and Vatican archives [...]. The potential additions to our knowledge of the missions and of the whole connection of the Roman Catholic Church [with North America] are very great, and in the end these associations can be documented from such sources on a wholly new level of completeness.[1]

Prior to 1622, i.e., prior to the the establishment of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," the documents one is likely to find in Roman archives are occasional as to their origin. The Cantino map of 1502 was found by sheer chance in a pork butcher's shop in Modena.[2] Gerolamo da Verrazzano's 1529 map of the east coast of North America is now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library).[3] In Bologna, once with Modena part of the Papal States, there is one of the three extant copies of Samuel de Champlain's *Brief Discours* of 1601, the second copy being at the Archivio di Stato of Turin and the third (the more famous one, albeit not the earliest) in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.[4] Among the many hundreds of items, Carl Russell Fish lists a document relating to a 1611 voyage to China by way of Nova Zembla where New France is mentioned, possibly a clue to one of Henry Hudson's voyages of discovery.[5] They are all extraordinary documents, and yet occasional in nature, the result more of happy encounters with the unexpected rather than of planned research.

After 1622, this pattern continues to apply to most Roman repositories, with the notable exceptions of, as we shall see, the Vatican Secret Archives, the archives of the religious orders and, of course, Propaganda.

1. ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO

In Rome there are many archives and many libraries. The distinction between archives and libraries does not always correspond with modern usage. Some libraries preserve many manuscripts, while other archives contain many printed books, pamphlets or periodical literature. In general, however, a distinction must he made between the two major repositories, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and Propaganda, and all others. As a rule, documents preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives and Propaganda tend to be homogeneous as to their origin, as they stem directly from the working apparatus of the Holy See. Most documents relating to the work of the nuncio in France, for example, are found either in the Vatican Secret Archives (European matters in general) or in Propaganda (missionary matters), since the nuncio maintained a weekly correspondence with both the secretary of state and the high officials of the Congregation. We shall deal later with the archives of the religious orders, but they too stem directly from the activities of the orders, and the documents they preserve tend not to be occasional.

In itself, the Vatican Secret Archives is a collection of a number of archives. It contains, for example, the archives formed as a result of the activities of various offices and institutions of the Holy See -- the Sacred Congregation of the Rites, the Sacred Congregation of the Council, the Sacred

Congregation of the Consistory, the Holy Office, etc. It also contains documents that derive from the relationship between the Holy See and the various religious orders (Fondo Gesuiti, Fondo Cappuccini, Fondo Francescani), or documents that were once filed by Holy See officials among their private papers (Fondo Albani, Fondo Borghese, Fondo Carpegna), besides documents directly dealing with the missions that, as a rule, should be in the archives of Propaganda (Fondo Missioni).[6]

Until fairly recently, the only clue to the importance of the Vatican Secret Archives were Fish's *Guide* and Conrad Morin's thesis.[7] However, two Canadian researchers working from September 1982 to July 1984 in Rome prepared a very important calendar of Vatican documents dealing with North America in the years 1600 to 1799.[8] In their comprehensive survey of 727 volumes or bundles of the series Francia (formerly Nunziatura di Francia) of the archives of the Secretary of State, Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato were able to study in great detail the correspondence (in the broader sense of the term) between the nuncio in Paris and the secretary of state. Their calendar consists of 1,050 entries, an introduction, a list of nuncios and secretaries of state, the list of all volumes and bundles consulted, and a comprehensive index. Given the oftentimes confused organization of material in Francia, Benoît and Scardellato chose to survey its contents topographically, from vol. 53 to vol. 662. Calendar entries also follow this numerical, as opposed to chronological, sequence.

Benoît and Scardellato also prepared an additional calendar of selected documents from various documents of the Vatican Secret Archives.[9] These series are as follows:

- Processus Datariae
- Segreteria Apostolica, Epistolae ad Principes
- Segreteria Apostolica, Segreteria dei Brevi
- Segreteria di Stato, Lettere di Principi
- Segreteria di Stato, Lettere di Vescovi
- Fondo (Archivio) Concistoriale, Acta Camerarii
- Fondo (Archivio) Concistoriale, Processus Consistoriales
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Acta Congregationis Consistorialis
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Congregationis Consistoriales
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Positiones Congreg. Em. Cap. Ordinum
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Praeconia et Propositiones
- Acta Sacrae Congregationis super Disciplina Regularium.

Because of the limited research time available, the two researchers were not able to carry out an exhaustive survey of the above series. Instead, they selected the series to be examined on the basis of references found in scholarly studies or even research notes, in particular those of Morin. This second calendar is, however, a very important starting point for further research in the Vatican Secret Archives.

2. BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA

Aside from the Vatican Secret Archives and Propaganda, Rome has a number of archives and libraries that only in comparison with the above two will we refer to as "minor." The documents they preserve, albeit important, are in fact less numerous and less homogeneous in their origins. The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library) the largest of the "minor" repositories, contains a number of series that by and large correspond directly to bequests received from various sources -- popes, cardinals, Holy See officials in general (Fondo Barberini, Fondo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Fondo Borgia, Fondo Chigi, Fondo Ottoboni, Fondo Urbinate, Fondo Vaticano). After Fish,[10] they are known to contain documents relating to Avalon in Newfoundland and New France (Fondo Ottoboni), New France (Urbinate), Louisiana (Vaticano), and the Capuchins in Acadia (Barberini).[11] Owing to the importance of these collections, the Vatican Library is probably the one among the various "minor" repositories that is likely to contain the most interesting material for the history of North America.

3. BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE

The Biblioteca Casanatense (Casanatense Library) was originally the personal library of cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), sometime Secretary of Propaganda (1666-1668). A preliminary survey shows, for example, that the library contains five letters from Agostino Favoriti, a high official of the Roman curia, to François de Laval, vicar apostolic in Canada, dated 1671-1675 (ms 367); an undated manuscript map of North America, the work of Giovanni Battista Nicolosi (ms 675); a manuscript history of the Jesuits in America by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, General of the Franciscan Conventuals in 1701-1707 (ms 648); and a printed dossier on the Seven Years' War, with specific reference to North America (ms 5,556).[12]

4. BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA

The Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Vallicelliana Library), established in the second half of the sixteenth century by St. Filippo Neri, is considered of particular relevance for ecclesiastical history. The library seems to be very rich in general reports on world affairs, particularly on France and England. A number of documents seem likely to contain information on North America (mss G 47, K 13, K 102, K 104, M 13-14, R 55, S 38-45).[13]

5. BIBLIOTECA DELL'ACCADEMIA DEI LINCEI E CORSINIANA

The Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana was intitially the private library of the Corsini family and in particular of Lorenzo Corsini, then Pope Clement XII (1730-1740). In 1883 it was donated to the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, which merged its own library with the former Biblioteca Corsiniana. The library is known to contain a dossier of the Holy Office dealing with the state of the Catholic Church in Canada after the Conquest (ms 2555/1), a good number of documents dealing with the French Nunciature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a dossier on Propaganda missionaries in England (ms 244), and documents on the French Recollets in the eighteenth century (mss 713, 912), about whom little is available elsewhere.[14]

6. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA

The Archivio di Stato di Roma is the general repository for the Papal States prior to their merging with Italy in 1870. Even though it is Italian in scope, it contains many documents of interest for the history of the missions and their administrative problems. A document, for example, was found that deals with the Sulpician Seminary of Montreal (Archivio Paesi Stranieri, secc. XVII-XVIII, b. 28, Inghilterra, anni 1510-1830).[15]

7. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE II

The Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II is the national library of Italy. It was established by incorporating the series preserved in the suppressed Roman congregations at the time of the Italian unification. Of the five series into which the manuscript division is divided, only one does not seem to have any material pertaining to North America (Fondo Orientale). The four of interest are Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuiti, Fondo Sessoriano and Fondi Minori. The Fondo Gesuiti has many documents relating to the missions of the Society of Jesus, while the Fondo Sessoriano has a dossier on the Quebec church at the beginning of the eighteenth century (ms 230).[16]

8. ARCHIVES OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Most religious orders keep their general archives in Rome. Their archives tend to be homogeneous, in that they usually stem from the order's working apparatus, its administration and its bureaucracy. As far as North America is concerned, their archives must be approached selectively, according to the time periods in which the orders were active in certain areas of North America. The Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Carmelitani Scalzi (Discalced Carmelite General Archives), for example, contains material relating to the early history of Newfoundland,[17] and is likely to contain documents on the endeavours of the order in Louisiana at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Archivio Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini (Capuchin Archives), though never surveyed, is likely to preserve documents relating to Acadia in the first half of the seventeenth century, where the Capuchins operated extensively. The Spiritans were very active in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, and that is the period one must look for in their Archivio Generale dei Padri dello Spirito Santo (Spiritan General Archives).

The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit Roman Archives) is the most important repository that was originated by a religious order, if only on account of the importance of the Society of Jesus in the early history of North America. Among the various series that should be consulted,[18] the most important are vols. 109 and 110 of Fondo Gallia, and the Catalogi Breves. The Jesuit Archives are currently being examined by two Canadian scholars, Lucien Campeau and Robert Toupin, the former dealing with the seventeenth century, the latter with the eighteenth century. Their aim is to publish in their entirety (at least for the seventeenth century) documents relating to the history of the Society of Jesus in Canada that are scattered among many repositories around the world, of which ARSI is only one. Judging from the quality of the three volumes by Campeau that have appeared in print to date, dealing with the years 1602-1637,[19] one could only hope that the following volumes of the series will soon be made available, and the high standard of scholarship set by the first three volumes be indeed maintained.[20]

NOTES

1 David Beers Quinn, "Documenting Canada's Early White History," *Archivaria*, 7 (1978), p. 90. Quinn wrote from a Canadian perspective, but the scope of his article is clearly North American. See also James Lambert, "Toward a Religious Archives Programme for the Public Archives of Canada," *Archivaria*, 3 (Winter 1976-77), pp. 40-56.

2 William P. Cumming, Raleigh A. Skelton and David B. Quinn, *The Discovery of America*, London: Elek, 1971, p. 56.

3 Jacques Habert, *La Vie et les Voyages de Jean de Verrazane*, Ottawa: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1964, pp. 384-385.

4 [Samuel de Champlain], "Brief Discovrs [...] aux Indes Occidentales," [1601], in Henry Percival Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, Toronto: The Champlain Society, I: 1922, pp. 1-80. Biggar's version is taken from the Providence copy. Whether the Brief Discovrs was authored by Champlain is still being debated.

5 Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Material for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1911, p. 115.

6 Martino Giusti, *L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1975.

7 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 20-100; Conrad Morin, "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français d'après les archives romaines. L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la mission apostolique (1615-1658)," unpublished thesis, Università Gregoriana (1942), pp. x-xiv.

8 Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato, *A Calendar of Documents of North American Interest in the Series Francia, Archives of the Secretary of State of the Holy See, Archivio Secreto Vaticano*, Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and St. Paul's University, [1985]. Microfiche edition available.

9 Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato, *A Calendar of Documents of North American Interest from Various Series and Sub-Series of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Ottawa, National Archives of Canada and St. Paul's University [1985], microfiche edition available.

10 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 101-118.

11 Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973; Bignami Odier, "Guide au Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 51 (1934), pp. 205-239.

12 This writer is currently examining the sources for the history of North America in the Casanatense Library. To date, items 1 to 2,116 (the library preserves 6,291 manuscripts) have been examined. See G.D. Anagni and C. de Ferrari, *Index Manuscriptorum*, 1844, 3 vols.; A. Moricca Caputi, *Inventario (topografico) manoscritti*, 1915, 2 vols.; E. Moneti et al., *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949-1978, 6 vols.

13 *Index codicum manuscriptorum*, 2 vols.; *Index codicum manuscriptorum, Appendix*, 1887-1889, 3 vols.; *Index materiarum praecipuarum codicum manuscriptorum graecorum et latinorum Bibliothecae Vallicellianae ordine alphabetico depositus*, 1749; *I manoscritti di Costantino Corvisieri nella Biblioteca della R. Società di Storia Patria*, 1908.

14 A. Arrigoni et al., *Indice dei libri manoscritti che si conservano nella Libreria dell'Ecc.ma Casa Corsini*, 1738-1958, 3 vols.; *Inventario dei manoscritti corsiniani*, 2 vols.

15 Armando Lodolini, *L'Archivio di Stato di Roma. Epitome di una guida degli archivi dell'amministrazione centrale dello Stato Pontificio*, Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1960.

16 Tullio Tentori, "I manoscritti di interesse americanistico esistenti nelle Biblioteche ed archivi italiani. I manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma," Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, ser. VIII, vol. VIII, 5-6 (1953), pp. 263-277.

17 See Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988, p. 193 (1st Italian edition: 1982).

18 See the list used by Lucien Campeau in the volumes described in note 19 (I: p. 46*; II, p. 38*).

19 Lucien Campeau, ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, I: *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)*, 1967; II: *Établissement à Québec (1616-1634)*, 1979; *III: Fondation de la mission huronne (1635-1637)*, 1987, all Rome: Monumenta Hist. Soc. Jesu - Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

20 It might be worth noting that all the papers of Barthélemy Vimont, François-Joseph Le Mercier, Jérôme Lalemant and Paul Ragueneau have been made available in the following dissertations: Ferdinando G. Pierotti, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1639-1658). Le lettere del padre Barthélemy Vimont conservate nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1980); Stefania Pierotti Gigli, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1635-1672). Le lettere del padre François-Joseph Le Mercier conservate nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1983). Sandra Botti, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1638-1671). L'esperienza canadese di padre Jérôme Lalemant e le sue lettere conservate a Roma nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1987); Angela Recce, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1641-1642). L'esperienza canadese di padre Paul Ragueneau e le sue lettere conservate a Roma nell'Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1987). See also Fabio Simoncini, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia 1710-1717. Ordinamento interno e organizzazione scolastica dai documenti dell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1980).

VI. METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE *CALENDAR*

The *Calendar* contains descriptions of 2,441 documents conserved in different series of the Propaganda Fide archives.[1] In all, 1,932 archival volumes were examined.[2] Entries summarize the content of all the documents with respect to facts and individuals in French and British North America between 1622 and 1799. We will now discuss the geographical and chronological scope of the *Calendar*.

As to geography, since there is no practical distinction in North America between French and British territories until the second half of the eighteenth century, both are accounted for. This editor has then included the whole of what is now Canada, the eastern part of what is now the United States, particularly Louisiana, the area then called Ohio and Mississippi, and the great American West, at that period almost exclusively in the hands of the French. Conversely, documents dealing with the area of the United States that from 1622 to 1799 was under Spanish rule are omitted, since they were treated by the Holy See as the northernmost portion of South and Central (i.e., Spanish) America. Florida as such was then excluded from the *Calendar*.[3] Louisiana was included because, for the whole of the period in question, it presented something of a political anomaly.

Chronologically speaking, 1622 is the only logical starting point, since it was the year in which Propaganda was established. On the other hand, 1799 represents quite simply the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of another era for the Catholic church in Europe, which originated from the disruption of the Napoleonic period.[4]

All documents of interest to North America that pre-date 1622 were calendared; they were very few.[5] Conversely, a large number of documents were found that are dated after 1800. With very few exceptions,[6] they were not inventoried and were left for a new calendar devoted to the period 1800 and after. When the same archival volume was found to contain documents dated 1799 and before, or 1800 and after, only the former were calendared.

This editor has tried to give the widest possible scope to his work, and to bear in mind the many facets of the research and the variety of uses to which it might be put. He has therefore not restricted himself only to those documents mentioning North America (however briefly) or having a direct bearing on the history of North America, but has also taken into consideration documents that do not refer specifically to America. His view encompasses those that may have in some way influenced the American policy of Propaganda (for example, the many documents regarding the Capuchins in the first half of the seventeenth century), which indicate the depth of knowledge of American affairs on the part of Propaganda officials (for example, the different subdivisions of the world among the various cardinals of Propaganda, where North America was notably absent), and that demonstrate the possibility of errors and mistaken geographical attributions (for example, the confusion between America and Africa, the West Indies and the East Indies, Armenia and America, Newfoundland and the Holy Land).[7]

Obviously there can be no objective limit to research, unless we undertake an analysis of the entire body of Propaganda's documentation. For example, the problems arising between the Jesuits and Propaganda in China had, in their turn, a decided influence upon the relations between the Jesuits and Propaganda in North America. Nothing is, ultimately, beyond the scope of this enquiry. As no such objective criterion can exist, and such an extension is clearly impracticable, the final choice and responsibility must lie with the editor. Any error should, however, be on the side of excess, and any omission must be put down to the mistakes to which any archival research is open.

In order to be as inclusive as possible, this editor has chosen not to extrapolate individual documents dealing with North America from their dossiers, but to calendar all dossiers in their entirety. In order to form a dossier, a group of documents must identify as a unity -- either being part of the same packet, or showing evidence of being used as such by Propaganda officials. In a number of cases, this is confirmed by references to the same "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation), to enclosures, translations, etc. Documents that were originally part of the same dossier may now be scattered among various series in the archives of Propaganda. To preserve the unity of individual dossiers, this editor has kept them intact in all parts, thus cataloguing items not in themselves concerned with North America.[8] In two cases, this proved to be quite cumbersome because of the disproportion between American and non-American matters.[9] In other cases, documents that in themselves do not pertain to North America have been calendared, because they were cross-referenced with documents of other series that do deal with North America.

The same methods and problems apply to the treatment of individuals. Anyone having anything to do with the history of French and British North America between 1622 and 1799 has been included in the *Calendar*. In the case of individuals, however, some serious problems arose. How to consider an individual during his or her previous non-American life? Generally, the criterion followed was that of calendaring all the documents that could have direct bearing on the American experience of the individual in question. For example, Joseph de Paris's refusal to grant Pacifique de Provins permission to return to the missions in the Orient was considered an objective factor behind Pacifique's subsequent project of a new mission in Acadia. Yet Pacifique's documents relating to his activity in the Orient were not included in the *Calendar*.

In some cases, the importance of an individual who lived principally in North America has led this editor to include entries concerning documentary material that does not strictly relate to that area. Examples are François de Laval's presence at François Pallu's consecration as bishop, and Louis Hennepin's European life after his American explorations. There is then the problem of individuals who had continual dealings with North America but never set foot on the continent (for example, Simon Stock and Pierre de La Rue, Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu), or of those who tried to go but appear never to have gotten there (for example, Paolo Moretti), or of those who were thought to be in North America, but were in fact elsewhere (for example, Pacifique de Provins). They too were included in the *Calendar*, but only when the documents in question were somewhat related to North America. For example, neither Stock's letters dealing exclusively with England, nor L'Isle-Dieu's reports dealing exclusively with the West Indies, were calendared.

All names of persons appear in the entries in their modern standard form by their family names only. If there is room for confusion, initials or full first names are also used. Full names, with additional information mainly referring to the period covered by the documents, are to be found in the Index. Original spellings are maintained only in quotations, or when the individual was not clearly recognizable to this editor. The same treatment applies to geographical names, which are always given in their modern standard form in their original language (Saint-Malo, not St. Malo), unless modern usage requires its English translation (Padua, not Padova).

An effort has been made to identify individuals, facts, places and dates when they are not in the original documents, which is unfortunately most often the case. Obviously, this was not always possible. Everything between square brackets belongs to the editor, and everything else is in the original document.

It now seems necessary to explain why some series and sub-series were selected for this *Calendar*, while others were excluded. In the case of some series, whose volumes are in simple chronological sequence (Acta, SOCG, Udienze, Lettere), volumes were simply examined from the beginning until the year 1799. Some other series (Fondo Vienna, Informazioni, Istruzioni, Miscellanee

Diverse, Miscellanee Generali, Miscellanee Varie, Decreti, Brevi e bolle, Congregazioni Particolari) were examined completely, although only documents dated 1799 or before were calendared.

The Congressi series, divided as it is into many sub-series, requires special consideration. Apart from the fact that volumes were investigated only as far as documents dated 1799 or before were concerned, no attempt was made to cover the whole series and, consequently, all sub-series. A random investigation into the sub-series dealing with countries with no known relations with North America showed that the chance of finding documents of interest in such sub-series (as those dealing with Ethiopia, Muscovy, Hungary, China, etc.) is almost non-existant. The editor then proceeded in his investigation according to a scheme that took into account the following categories of sub-series and volumes:
- those clearly dealing with America (America Settentrionale, America Centrale, America Meridionale, America Antille)
- those dealing with countries with known American connections (Anglia, Francia, Irlanda, Belgio Olanda, Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, Spagna Portogallo Gibilterra)
- those dealing with general matters (Missioni, Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori, Ministri)
- all miscellaneous volumes relating to the above sub-series.

The following is the list of Congressi sub-series and volumes that were investigated and in which documents of interest to the *Calendar* were found:[10]
- America Settentrionale, vols. 1-2
- America Centrale, vols. 1-3
- *America Centrale, Miscellanee, vols. 1-5
- America Meridionale, vols. 1-4
- America Antille, vols. 1-3
- Anglia, vols. 1-5
- *Anglia, Miscellanee, vols. 1-6
- Francia, vols. 1-2
- Irlanda, vols. 1-17
- Missioni, vols. 1-7
- *Missioni, Miscellanee, vols. 1-26
- Sacra Congregazione, vols. 1-3

The following is the list of Congressi sub-series and volumes where findings were deemed to be possible, but no documents were actually found:
- *Francia, Miscellanee, vol. 1
- Belgio Olanda, vols. 1-16
- *Belgio Olanda, Miscellanee, vols. 1-13
- Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, vols. 1-8
- *Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, Miscellanee, vols. 1-2
- Spagna Portogallo Gibilterra, vol. 1
- *Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultari, vols. 1-3
- *Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori, Miscellanee, vols. 1-2
- Ministri, vols. 1-2
- *Ministri, Miscellanee, vol.1.

Some series were not examined, because, on the basis of Metzler's *Inventory*[11] and of the experience gained during the preparation of the *Calendar*, findings were not deemed to be possible. They are as follows:
- Congregatio Particularis de rebus Sinarum et Indiarum Orientalium;
- Congregatio super Correnctione Librorum Ecclesiae Orientalis;
- Atti della Commissione per la revisione delle Regole;
- Sinodi Diocesani;

- Fondo Spiga;
- Fondo Consalvi;
- Regestum Facultatum;
- Collezione d'Istruzioni, Circolari e Decreti a Stampa.

For a complete and exhaustive explanation of the contents of the above series, one should consult Metzler's *Inventory*.[12]

NOTES

1 Here is a listing of the number of documents found for the following series: Acta, 235; SOCG, 727; Varia, 429; Lettere, 461; Congressi, 589.

2 There are 168 volumes of the Acta series, 908 of SOCG, 74 of Fondo Vienna, 17 of Informazioni, 8 of Istruzioni, 126 of Miscellanee (37 of Miscellanee Diverse, 33 of Miscellanee Generali, 56 of Miscellanee Varie), 37 of Udienze, 13 of Decreti, 13 of Brevi e bolle, 162 of Congregazioni Particolari, 278 of Lettere, 129 of Congressi.

3 References to Spanish North America are found in Finbar Kenneally, ed., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives. A Calendar. First Series*, vols. 1-7, and *Index* to vols. 1-7, Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-1981. As far as the scope of the *Calendar* is concerned, one may say that everything that is in Kenneally is also in the *Calendar*, but not vice versa.

4 See Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

5 A report on dominant religion all over the world, [Rome, 16th century], C 526; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, ?1610-1], Varia 183; [Lorenzo de Paoli] to Paul V, [Rome, ?1610-1], Varia 184; Guido Bentivoglio to Joseph Le Caron, Paris, 20 March 1618, SOCG 284.

6 Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Padua, Nov. 1800], Lettere 461; [Propaganda] to Pius VII, [Rome, after July 1800], C 242; [John Mattingly?] to [Propaganda?], [?London, ?after 1806], C 264; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, c. 1823], Varia 194.

7 For these examples, see Chapter One, note 48; Chapter Three, note 4.

8 See François-Louis de Pourroy de Lauberivière's request for faculties, which was calendared with similar requests from other bishops (Lauberivière to Clement XII, [1739], SOCG 527; and the dossier SOCG 522-527).

9 See the dossiers in SOCG 512, 540-575; and SOCG 609-670.

10 The sequence of the two following lists is the editor's choice. An asterisk (*) indicates that the complete sub-series was examined.

11 Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.

12 Ibidem.

VII. HOW TO USE A STANDARD ENTRY OF THE *CALENDAR*

In the *Calendar*, each entry has a specific number within its series (for example, Acta, 116, SOCG 213, Varia 202, Lettere 51, Congressi 105[1]). Also, each series has been numbered: II, Acta; III, SOCG; IV, Varia and Addenda; V, Lettere; VI, Congressi. (Many minor series have been regrouped under IV, Varia.)

For each document, the series and subseries are provided. These are followed by the volume number and, when possible, the year or years the volume covers. In some cases, the time span indicated for a volume corresponds only vaguely to the year or years covered by the records.

The volume number is followed by all folios (or, more rarely, pages) of which the calendared document consists. Blanks are considered part of a document. For example, "ff. 99rv-100rv" means that the document consists of folios 99 and 100. On the other hand, "ff. 109rv, 112rv" means that the document consists of folios 109 and 112, but that folios 110 and 111 belong to another document. In the case of series where no incoming documents are preserved (Acta, Lettere, Decreti, etc.), a document may consist of a portion of a folio only. For example, "ff. 82v-83r" means that the document appears on the verso of folio 82 and on the recto of folio 83, but that the recto of folio 82 and the verso of folio 83 belong to other documents.

The above two kinds of information, i.e., the title of the archival series and the volume number, are the only ones necessary when ordering a particular document in the archives of Propaganda. The sub-series need only be specified in the case of the Congressi series. Folio (or page) numbers are then necessary to locate the document within the selected volume.

Next, the language used in the document is shown. In the case of incoming documents pertaining to North America, most are written in Italian and Latin, although some are in French, Spanish and English. Incoming documents written in a language other than Italian (sometimes even in Latin) were usually translated into Italian by the foreign clergy's agents residing in Rome for circulation among Propaganda officials. Some of these translations are still attached to the original documents. Most of Propaganda's outgoing documents were written in Italian or Latin, although occasionally we find letters in French. Although the core of the document is usually in one language only, often notes were scribbled on the original document or citations were made that were in another language. Sometimes a single entry may consist of up to three different languages.

Each entry contains historical information on the document. This information varies according to the nature of the archival series. In Acta, being a collection of proceedings of the "Congregazioni Generali" (General Congregations), only the place where the meeting was held (invariably Rome) and the date of the meeting are indicated. In Lettere, being registers of copies of letters written by Propaganda officials, dates of outgoing letters are clearly stated. The only notable exception is vol. 275, where days are usually absent. The place of origin is nearly always Rome (though this is seldom openly stated). Letters registered in vols. 276-277, however, were mostly written in Padua or Venice. Dates of both Acta and Lettere, as is the case for all Propaganda's internal or outgoing documents, are given according to the New Style calendar (Calendario Gregoriano). Seldom do Propaganda's letters indicate the name of the person who signed the original, even though this was, most often, the prefect or the secretary of the Congregation.

Entries relating to series of incoming documents (SOCG, Congressi, etc.), show the names of the sender(s) and of the addressee(s), edited according to modern standard usage, usually in the language of the country of origin, followed by a short indication of their capacity at the time when the letter was written. Obviously, not all incoming documents are letters. In the case of books, pamphlets or printed matter in general, their author is given. Entries show the day, month and year in which the document was written. Documents that have subsequently been certified are sometimes given according to the date of certification, although original dates are given in the subsequent description of the document. Unless otherwise stated, all incoming documents are dated according to the New Style calendar. One must note, however, that information about sender and addressee, place and date of a document, is seldom complete, and that details lacking in the original document have been supplemented by this editor whenever possible.

Each entry also includes a summary of the contents of the document. In the case of Acta, the summary is usually preceded by details about the number of the relating General Congregation, of the item in question (for example, "CG 290/13"), followed by the name of the member of Propaganda to whom the matter was entrusted (for example: "Rel.: Pallotta"). In the case of SOCG or other series containing incoming documents, the summary is predeeded by archival indications of the type of document (for example "ALS", or "M", or "PM").[2]

Additional information is given between brackets only when it offers data that are not in the original document and that this editor considers to be necessary or of particular significance. Whenever a document has too many names, and they cannot be contained in the summary, all names are listed in the remarks following the summary. When the document touches upon matters other than North American, this is indicated at the end of the description.

The summary is followed by a number of additional indications, which may vary according to the series. They are as follows:

MN(s)	Marginal note(s) by Propaganda officials
PF notes	Additional notes or comments on the matter in question by Propaganda officials
PF S	Summary of the contents of the document prepared by Propaganda officials
Df of PF answer	Draft of the reply to be written as it will appear in Lettere. In some cases, the date of the reply may also accompany the draft or simply replace it.
Df of R	Draft of the rescriptum as it will appear in Acta (only in SOCG)
R	Rescriptum (only in Acta)
Re CG 155/1 of 29 Mar. 1632	There is an explicit cross-reference with the CG 155 of 29 March 1632, where the document in question was discussed as item no. 1 of the cardinals' agenda (only in SOCG).
Re PF answer of 1789	There is an explicit cross-reference with the 13 June 1789 date of the reply as it will appear in Lettere.
Bs: 80v, 87r	The verso of folio 80 and the recto of folio 87 are (blanks are considered part of the document).

In the last section of each entry, general details on the documents are given, such as their forming part of a dossier, the existence of enclosures, other copies, translations, erroneous pagination, etc. Cross-references with documents of other series (i.e., with entries of other volumes of this

Calendar) are clearly specified at the end of each entry. They usually consist of references to an incoming document, to the proceedings of the discussions or decisions related to it, and, finally, to the decrees, instructions or replies that originated from it. For example, Richard Challoner, bishop of Debra and coadjutor of the bishop of Prusa, Benjamin Petre, wrote to Propaganda in 1756 from London (SOCG 532). Two summaries prepared by Propaganda officials are extant of that letter, one with additional comments and notes (C 573), and another that is shorter (C 575). We also have a memorandum written by the Congregation's secretary, Nicola Lercari, explaining the case (C 416). We then find the proceedings of the discussion as it took place in the "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation) of 6 Dec. 1756, with an indication of the Pope's approval of the decision made by the cardinals dated 23 Jan. 1757 (Acta 204). A reply was then written and sent to Petre on 29 Jan. 1757 (Lettere 146).[3]

NOTES

1 Congressi is abbreviated as C.

2 For these abbreviations, consult the list "Abbreviations and Symbols."

3 Richard Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, 6 Dec. 1756], C 575; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome 6 Dec. 1756], C 573; [Nicola Lercari] to [Propaganda], [Rome, 6] Dec. 1756, C 416; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Dec. 1757, Acta 204; [Propaganda] to Benjamin Petre, Rome, 29 Jan. 1757, Lettere 146.

APPENDIX A - TRANSLATIONS

Following are English translations of passages in Latin, Italian and French. In some cases a few words originally in English are included to help the reader locate the passage.

p. 3
"The treaty that is about to be concluded between the warring powers of Europe is surely not that important, nor does it have relations with the Apostolic See that would require sending an Appendin. Nevertheless, the nuncio was told "since independence has already been granted by England to the United Provinces of America, [...] it would appear necessary that Our Lord [the Pope] give some thought and attention to the practice and preservation of the Catholic religion in those states."

p. 5
"... the necessary search having been made in the archival records, no document was found indicating that the archpriests of England [...], nor later the apostolic vicars [...] had ever been assigned the task of sending missionaries to the islands or to continental America under English rule, or that of supervising either these or the missions [... and that he had] "never seen any brief or decree regulating the question in this way."

p. 7
Propaganda made it clear that "this Holy Congregation was not in the habit of opposing the superiors of the religions orders, since it had discovered that going against their will made negotions increasingly difficult."

...had been sent to "...the Canada bordering on New France."

p. 8
...dissolving the Society "peacefully and tranquilly."

p. 9
"Nor can any authority or action fall under the jurisdiction of that cathedral, nor can the clerics of the diocese appoint, much less elect, their bishop." [...] therefore it was an invalid act [...] [and] also a very dangerous precedent."

p.10
Propaganda, however, added that, "His Holiness will not have difficulty appointing as apostolic vicar the same cleric elected as bishop of that chapter."[53]

p. 11
...upon the establishment of Indian missions "to all those parts of North America that are full of people who have never heard the news of the Holy Gospel."

Pacifique had no intention of "ending his life by hearing the confessions of forty French Catholics." That is why he asked to be sent somewhere else in North America where there were "many more savages to convert to Christianity."[66]

In 1729 Dosquet asked Propaganda for permission to ordain "the natives of that country" for the alleged purpose of the mission.

...for the Indian missions, "which the Canadians do not like very much, but what can I do?"

p. 12
...Dugnani wrote: "The best idea is to go to America."

...wrote to the nuncio that he was "immersed in the deepest bitterness" for the loss "of the two great institutions of St. Sulpice and the Seminary of the Foreign Missions," since their loss "will mean the loss of many apostolic vicars, many thriving missions, many souls won over to the faith of Jesus Christ at enormous cost and an unending struggle." According to the writer, though, the idea of leaving France for the American missions was a dangerous one, since that was "a field full of thorns and bramble, [...] and any competition from the Protestant party, which is very well prepared in those states, could destroy and devastate all the efforts of the evangelical stewards of that vineyard." The suggestion was made that the majority of the members of the two religious institutions be sent to North and South America, but that in Paris "at least the seed of the illustrious Seminar of the Foreign Missions" be left "so that in any favourable circumstance that may arise, it will be possible to re-establish this worthy undertaking."

p.13
The bishop of Baltimore, Carroll, was informed that "In these difficuties, which worsen day by day, and with such great wounds as have been inflicted on the Catholic faith in Europe, we hope for solace from the American provinces."

The latter was told in 1796: "You should defend Catholics vigorously [...] against the evil vortex of irreligion and unbelief, of which we deplore the wretched spread here in Europe."

p. 14
"They want the good life they see the French enjoying; they lose their toughness, and can no longer endure the hard life that unfortunately is their lot, such as having to spend the winter in the middle of the woods."

p. 49
It is, in Morin's words, "the first work of Canadian history that is the fruit of a real use of Roman sources."

p. 52
Note 8. In Morin's words: "It is the historic and not the archival or topographical point of view that has inspired this classification; in other words, with a view to facilitating research methods, the collections have been grouped by order of appearance of the items and not the source."

p. 53
Note 28. Caron states: "Another source of information is the *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada* for 1910 (p. 106) under the title 'Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes.' We give only a summary of these items written in Italian, but the Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa, has good copies. Some can also be found in the archives of the archdiocese of Quebec, under the title 'Documents du Vatican.'"

p. 58
Note 85. "Very recently [1916-1917] Father John Lenhart published a work in English with exactly the same format as this one. He consulted nearly all the important printed sources and a portion of the archives of Propaganda that was up to that time unpublished. It is a very good study in which we can verify with pleasure most of our conclusions."

p.59
Note 92

"Now at last, after a rather long and exceedingly disgusting delay, Father Archangel de Fossé has arrived here with new arrangements issued by the Sacred Congregation for continuing the missions. I am delighted to see that I have obtained what I have asked for constantly -- I mean absolution from every kind of missionary prefecture, which has passed to the Fathers Provincial -- and for this I consider it my duty [...] to express my thanks.

As regards other matters, and especially as regards the fact that Father Archangel was assigned to the Father Provincial, more occurs to me that should be said, but I shall spare this; mindful of the case, and mindful of the times, I shall say only that this happened beyond our intention and expectation [...] and I know not how the Sacred Congregation hit upon the idea of this decision, or how it occurred to Father Archangel to accept it. I beseech the most high that everything may be directed as hoped, not as expected."

What follows is the same text in its original form:

"Now at last, after a rather long and exceedingly disgusting delay, Father Archangel de Fossé has arrived here with new arrangements issued by the Sacred Congregation for continuing the missions. I am delighted to see that (among other items) through these arrangements, and as the letter that you addressed to me stated, I have obtained what I have asked for constantly -- I mean absolution of every kind from the missionary prefecture, which has passed to the Fathers Provincial of the provinces -- and for this I considered it my duty (otherwise one would deservedly charge me with ingratitude) to express my thanks, as I am doing with the present letter, both to the Sacred Congregation and to you."

As regards the other matters disposed and decreed by the Sacred Congregation, and especially as regards the fact that Father Archangel was assigned to the Father Provincial of the Parisian Province in the administration of the missionary prefecture and not to other provinces, more occurs to me that should be said, but I shall spare this; mindful of the case, and mindful of the times, I shall say only that this happened beyond our intention and expectation, and I know not how the Sacred Congregation hit upon the idea of this decision, or how it occured to Father Archangel to accept just however much was offered. As regards myself, I beseech the Most High that everything may be directed to His own greater glory, as hoped, not as expected."

p. 59
Note 98. "... where there is more persecution and difficulty in bearing fruit than here; it cannot work, except in Geneva, and that is where I will go, if they provide me with the necessary means to be successful."

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N.B. - The *Calendar* is available on microfiche from the National Archives of Canada.

America, Canada, England, Europe, France, Great Britain, New France, North America, Rome, the United States and the West Indies are not indexed. The Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" as such is not indexed, but its members are. Numbers in italics indicate documents received or sent, or authorship of documents (books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc.). Numbers refer to entries, not to pages. Entries are indexed as follows:

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